THE TEACHING OF JA'FAR AL-ṢĀDIQ,

With Reference to His Place in Early Shī'ism

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ABSTRACT

THE TEACHING OF JA'FAR AL-ṢĀDIQ, with reference to his place in early Shī'ism

This study examines the person of the Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (8? - 148 / 702-3 - 765) against the background of archaic Shī'ism of the late first and second centuries of Islām. Its foremost concern is to gain an appreciation of al-Ṣādiq as one of the leading figures in the projection of an esoteric teaching by the Ḥusaynid 'Alids from the Family of the Prophet Muḥammad. The complex manifestations of the early Shī'ah, ranging from the moral protest of Arab Legitimism, to the social revolt shading into mystical anarchy of apocalyptic messianism, to a radically interior appropriation of the Iṣlāmic revelation, all played a part in the elaboration of Ja'far's thought. A survey of the multiform cultural, political and religious factors comprising the early Shī'ī motives allows the spiritual teaching of al-Ṣādiq to stand out in clear relief.

Utilizing the earliest available layer of Ithnā 'Asharī literature as the door of approach, al-Ṣādiq's teaching is seen to revolve around the axis of Knowledge. Ja'far's understanding of the Imām as the 'Delegated Exponent' of God in creation unfolds directly out of his epistemology, which is itself dictated by an ontology of gnostic dimensions involving his distinctive view of prophecy. An attempt is undertaken to trace the process of the transmission of his teaching in the century following his death, and down to the consolidation of the Ithnā 'Asharī school of Islām in the Buwayhid era.

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RÉSUMÉ

Le présent ouvrage étudie la personne de l'Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (83 - 148 / 702-3 - 765) dans le cadre du Shī'isme archaïque de la fin du premier et du deuxième siècle de l'Islām. En premier lieu, il se propose de mettre en valeur le rôle joué par al-Ṣādiq en tant que l'une des principales figures responsables de la formation d'un enseignement ésotérique, celui des 'Alides Ḥusaynides, membres de la Famille du prophète Muḥammad. Sans doute les manifestations complexes de l'ancienne Shī'ah, depuis la protestation morale du légitimisme arabe à la révolte sociale virant à l'anarchisme mystique d'un messianisme apocalyptique, voire jusqu'à une appropriation radicalement interérieure de la révélation Islāmique, ont-elles toutes joué leur part dans l'élaboration de la pensée de Ja'far. C'est ainsi qu'un aperçu des éléments culturels, politiques et religieux, bref, de l'ensemble multiforme dans lequel s'inscrivent les motifs du Shī'isme ancien, nous a semblé indispensable pour permettre à l'enseignement spirituel d'al-Ṣādiq de se dégager clairement en relief.

En l'abordant par une étude de la plus ancienne couche de la littérature Ithnā 'Asharie accessible, l'enseignement d'al-Ṣādiq ressort comme étant axé sur la notion de Science. Sa conception de l'Imām comme étant le 'Représentant Délégué de Dieu Le faisant connaître' dans la création, découle directement de son épistémologie, laquelle est à son tour tributaire d'une ontologie aux dimensions gnostiques comportant

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sa prophétologie distinctive. Comme complément de cette étude, on a également essayé de retracer le processus de transmission de l'enseignement Ja'farien durant le siècle suivant sa mort et jusqu'à la consolidation de la doctrine Ithnā 'Asharie dans la période Buwayhide.

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PREFACE

This study would not have been possible without the support and encouragement provided us at the Institute of Islamic Studies in a variety of ways. Chief among them is the patience, sympathy and understanding shown by Dr. Charles J. Adams, Director of the Institute, in all stages of our work, for which we extend deep thanks. He also made possible financial help in the early stages of study. Our gratitude also goes to the government of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which generously provided us with a grant that insured the completion of this study.

We would like to acknowledge the indirect contribution of our former teachers at the American University of Beirut: to Dr. Syed Husain M. Jafri, who first drew our attention to the figure of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and aroused our interest in early Shʿism, and to Dr. Sami Nasib Makarem, who introduced us to an inner dimension of Shī'ī studies, we offer thankful recognition. To Dr. Mahdi Muhaqqiq of Tehran we owe a great deal, for our work on al-Ṣādiq was initiated under his knowledgeable direction. Dr. Hermann Landolt, who supervised this study with meticulous concern and read the various drafts of our work, has always been a source of guidance and encouragement in our studies. We are particularly grateful to him for his sharing our enthusiasm for our special interests. Among other professors who have helped in this work at McGill we must mention Drs. Isa Boullata and William Millward. Dr. Wadād al-Qāḍī of Beirut read

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part of this study and offered valuable criticism as well as the offprint of her paper on the ghulāt, for which we are indebted.

Our dear friend Dr. Mahmoud Ayoub has throughout the course of this work provided unfailing advice and important insights into our subject and our sources. We cannot thank him properly here. Among others who have helped us, particularly in supplying us with materials, we are glad to acknowledge Dr. Ulrich Haarmann, Director of the German Oriental Institute of Beirut, Dr. Gerhard Böwering of Philadelphia, Kevin Reinhart, Jan Weryho, and Dr. Ma'an Ziade. Numerous friends contributed in one way or another, and we take pleasure in mentioning 'Abd al-Karīm Bīāzār Shirāzī, Faqīr Muhammad Hunzai, Michael Barry, Andrew Rippin, as well as Hans von Aġġelern and Flavia for their help in translating from German and Italian. We are also grateful to the staff of the Library of the Institute of Islamic Studies at McGill for all their help, and want to thank the Libraries of the University of London, the University of Toronto, the American University of Beirut, and Harvard University as well.

This study represents one stage of work in progress. We have striven in the text to write the product of our investigation rather than the record of it. However we must apologize for the awkwardness of the essay-like notes, that often pursue separate arguments, and contain numerous proof texts. Yet due to the nature of the subject, and the particular aim we have followed, this was unavoidable. The system of transliteration of Arabic and Persian letters employed here is that followed by the Institute of Islamic Studies. And to God belongs all Praise.

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ليس لِلّٰه على خلقه أن يَعْرِفُوا قبل
أن يُعَرِّفَهُم ، وللخلق على اللّٰه أن يُعَرِّفَهُم،
و لِلّٰه على الخلق إذا عَرَّفَهُم أن يقبلوه .

روحه
روح الله
جعفر الصادق

God may not demand of His creatures that they know before He causes them to know;
Yet the creatures may demand of God that He make them to know;
And God, if He makes them to know, may demand of His creatures that they accept it.

- Ja'far al-Ṣādiq

(al-Ṣadūq, Al-Tawḥīd p. 412 chapter 64 # 7)

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INDICATIONS

Since words have a relative meaning, we should draw the reader's attention to our use of certain words in a manner which invests them with a particular meaning, not always the same as that often imposed on them in other works. The terms Imām, Shī'ah, or 'Ilm, for example, are sometimes used here with a particular connotation relative to the ambiance of our discussion. In such cases, words which lend themselves to confusion are placed in single quotation marks, or underlined. Thus, the term Imām carries a different emphasis than Imām; and so with Shī'ah, 'Ilm, or words such as 'hidden'.

In order to better follow our treatment of events and personalities in this study, the reader will be assisted by consulting a good genealogical chart, or a table of the various family branches of the Banū Hāshim, as provided, e.g., by Marshall G. S. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam (Chicago, 1974) vol. I, p. 261. For complete tables of the early 'Alid descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, consult: E. de Zambaur, Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie pour l'Histoire de l'Islam (Hannover, 1927; rpt. Berlin, Orient-Buchhandlung Heinz Lafaire, 1955), table A: Hasanids & table D: Husaynids.

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

INTRODUCTION

This study grows out of a project we began three years ago on the notion of 'Aql/'intelligence' from ancient Arabian times, in the Qur'ān and early Ḥadīth, down to the teaching of the Imāms of the Family of the Prophet Muḥammad. In pursuing our original course of research we found it necessary to clarify for our own satisfaction the early phases of Shī'ah Islām in order to better understand the contribution of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and his eldest son Ja'far al-Ṣādiq in the development of early Muslim thinking about 'Aql. Circumstances now demand that this portion of our work, in the form presented here, be allowed to stand by itself. Being the first fruit of our studies, it necessarily retains the bitter taste of early picking.

The following pages have as their ultimate aim the rediscovery of a lost chapter in the history of Muslim spiritual endeavour, namely, the projection of an inner teaching by the Ḥusaynid 'Alids and its preservation and application within the successive generations of Muslims who busied themselves with the legacy of the Imāms. The picture of early Shī'ism sketched here, and of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's role in its development, is largely in line with recent investigations by others, such as Halm, Kohlberg, Jafri, DeAngelis and Sachedina (see Bibliography). Archaic Shī'ism of the late first and second centuries

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of the Hejira, what we have termed "Imāmī Shī'ism" (see below n. 6), presents us with a variegated canvas marked by glaring contrasts. "There was, of course, a large spectrum of individual attitudes and doctrines within the Shī'a," observes Josef Van Ess, "the Shī'a was no sect, she was as broad as the Sunna in her possibilities" ("Skepticism in Islamic Religious Thought," Al-Abhāth 21/1 (1968) p. 9).

Beyond the passionate claims and counter-claims which mark the conflicting parties in the early community, the ikhtilāf over religious authority and the nature of the knowledge provided by the leader of the community (however the 'community' was envisioned) is the crux on which the Imāmī Shī'ī claims hinged. It is a truism to repeat that Islām has an essentially political dimension found in conjunction with its Apostolic aspect, and that the Companions of the Prophet Muhammad were politically divided by the force of circumstances, yet, as Frithjof Schuon points out: "The drama of the Companions is, in sum, the drama of human subjectivity; there would be no problem if there were only the good and the bad, but the great paradox is the existence of the good who differ to the point of not being able to understand each other, and who differ not so much by nature as in terms of situation and vocation" ("Seeds of a Divergence" in Islam and the Perennial Philosophy, London, 1976 p. 93). Nor must we underestimate the subjectivities at work among a mass of men as passionate, ambitious and turbulent as the ancient Arabs were. Political contingencies played a role in the genesis of Shī'ism before the death of 'Uthmān and even accelerated following the death

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of 'Alī when Shī'ism still retained a purely Arab character, for Kūfah expected to remain the capital of the Empire and was reluctant to defer to Damascus, Mu'āwiyyah's capital. With the growing importance of Babylonian and Persian cultural factors in the Empire, the original Arab Shī'ī movement learned to embrace both a more diverse clientele and a more varied range of spiritual patrimonies offered by the pluralistic outlook of a multiform society. All these factors are sometimes difficult to disentangle in a climate of passions that are at once spiritual and political.

Imāmī Shī'ism has accentuated, in its own manifold ways, certain ideas or realities of primitive Islām, and even of before Islām, which may represent the sublimation of particular religious elements of ancient Arabian or Semitic ideals. It is a matter of startling curiousity to mark that in a religion generally thought of as emphatically egalitarian and democratic, and intensely concerned with the free and equal sharing of its most precious possession (i.e. knowledge), there should arise early on within Islām a definite tendency or a recognizable stance which based itself on the clear distinctions imposed through a hierarchical division of men by the criterion of their knowledge— a Knowledge which was reserved for a few, not given to all. "I am the City of Knowledge, and 'Alī is its Gate," the Prophet is reported to have said, and from this fundamentally esoteric intention Imāmī Shī'ism takes its cue, an intention which it nevertheless readily translated into exoteric terms. Just how this process of exoteric coagulation came about

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is difficult to discern for a number of reasons, not least of which is the nature and the state of our sources. Yet the fact remains in front of us, it is tangible, concretely coagulated: Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism, Zaydī Shī'ism, Ismā'īlism, the Nuṣayris, etc.; all the offspring of Imāmī Shī'ism, all claiming legitimate parentage. And if we look hard enough, even in the heart of Sunnī Islām not a few voices are raised claiming descent from Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, e.g. Ṣūfism.

This study takes as its focus the figure of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq in the context of the jostling Shī'ī currents of his own day. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq has been considered a controversial figure for whom fantastic claims have been made (even in his own lifetime some deified him as the living God), yet most of those who have been in a position enabling them to express an opinion have not denied that he was of seminal importance and deep significance. In one sense the whole problem of early Shī'ism as a spiritual movement within Islām is encapsulated in this man and his family. He stands at the origins of one of the most productive schools of philosophy, scientific speculation and gnosis in the medieval era. Above all, the issue of Knowledge and the leadership of the community of the faithful as it was apprehended by Imāmī Shī'ism can be profitably viewed by placing al-Ṣādiq at the central focus.

The teaching of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq cannot be separated from the ideology of Imāmī Shī'ism. Nevertheless, distinctions can, and should, be drawn between his teaching and the ideas and intentions

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of closely related figures, groups and schools. His teaching springs out of a definite context, definite geographical and chronological conditions, is alive to particular events and personalities and is shaped by a definite outlook on man, God and 'History' as well as a distinctive understanding of the Islāmic revelation. But the attempt to study his teaching activity is fraught with definite frustrations. As ancient maps show the coastal areas in some detail and then a vast unknown interior, so in our inquiry, especially as we are basing it on Ithnā 'Asharī testimony, we must recognize that there is a larger area of which we must suspend judgement.

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> Thereupon we examined the esoteric sciences handed down from the rightly guided Imāms, and we found the 'inner' intermingled and consistent with the 'outer.' There is no disparity twixt the 'inner' and the 'outer' except in the following of one's own capricious whim and the inclination towards personal conjecture.
>
> - the anonymous compiler of al-Haft al-Sharīf (ed. M. Ghālib)

I.- PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY OF AL-ṢĀDIQ'S TEACHING

It is related that when Ibn Abī al-'Awjā' and 'Abdallāh b. al-Muqaffa', two of the most notorious free-thinking heretics (zindīq)[1] of the second century hijrī, were in Makkah observing the crowds of Muslims circling the Holy Ka'bah, Ibn al-Muqaffa' pointed to the pilgrims and said to his companion:[2]

> "Do you see these people? There isn't a single one whom I deem worthy of the name 'Human Being', except for that shaykh sitting (meaning Abū 'Abdallāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad). As for the rest they are just scum and beasts.

As unexpected as such praise may appear, coming as it does from a man vehemently scorned by Muslim tradition for his blasphemous pretensions, it echoes one of the salient themes of the Shī'ī Imāms

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of the Ḥusaynid line of descent. These descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad were convinced that they, together with their true followers, formed the community of the elect: "We and they," states Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, "are truly humans and the rest of mankind savages and are destined to the fire."[3] It is necessary to prepare for our investigation of the teaching traditionally relayed from the Imām Abū 'Abdallāh Ja'far al-Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir by reference to a number of issues which will help us to appreciate the complexity of his personality.

In viewing the articulation of early Muslim thought and the contribution which the early Shī'ah in the figure of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq made in this process, we have chosen as the focus for our exploration the Imām's esoteric teaching. We have inevitably been forced to limit the range of our investigation, specifically to the earliest available layer of Ithnā 'Asharī literature, yet the relevant material is still vast. There can, therefore, be no question of an exhaustive treatment. Our purpose is to identify in the body of material emanating from al-Ṣādiq in relatively early Ithnā 'Asharī sources those elements that directly relate to the Imām's spiritual ideology and to distinguish their essential features.

This primary purpose of clarification / comprehension has meant that many aspects of al-Ṣādiq's teaching as well as of Muslim creative thought in his period have had to be omitted. It has not been possible to deal with the theological, juridical or exegetical, nor for that matter the political and sectarian, aspects, all of

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which merit more detailed consideration than we shall provide. Even in the particular materials examined there are many features which could well be treated at greater depth. We hope that we shall to some extent be able to identify and portray the basic outlines of al-Ṣādiq's spiritual teaching, without doing violence to the complexity of the evidence. From this portrayal may emerge a sense of the permanent significance of one of the major and most influential expressions of the Islāmic revelation.

The changed conditions which Islām experienced during Ja'far's lifetime: from 83 to 148 A.H., or 702-3 to 765 A.D.,[4] fostered a determined effort to explore the dimensions of the faith and to work towards a resolution of the problems which it raised or which were thrust upon it. This intellectual and spiritual adventure constitutes one of the major features of interest in this period. Ja'far's role can be appreciated as a significant mover in the presentation of the Islāmic message to the freshly arisen Muslim world, the elaboration of faith in the exegesis of Scripture, and the use of particular motifs and myths to vehicule a more profound presentation of Islām.

To deal successfully with these themes it would be necessary to define the character of that religious and intellectual environment which early Islām experienced.[5] This would force us into a consideration of the ideology of legitimism among the early Shī'ah, of esoteric and hermeneutical tendencies within Judaic, Christian, Iranian, Gnostic and late Hellenistic-Oriental traditions, and into basic literary-critical and historical questions in order to collect

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the relevant evidence, before making a survey of their general characteristics. The current state of scholarly investigation into these subjects does not particularly facilitate such a task, and unfortunately this is especially true for our understanding of the early phases of what eventually came to be known as the Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ī tradition. Linked with this is the acute historical problem of the early development of Shī'ī Islām, which underlies any attempt to discern the features of the earliest form of Muslim esotericism.

Due weight must be given to the successive impacts shaping the emergence of the early Shī'ah: Saqīfah, Ṣiffīn, the assassination of 'Alī, the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, followed by a proliferation of uprisings, and the constant frustrations, repressions and various disasters suffered which constitute the "visible" side of early Shī'ism, as reconstructed from the historians and heresiographers. What seems clear is that throughout this early period there were at least three aspects to the Shī'ī movement: the "visible" aspects of the original Shī'at 'Alī and of the wider social movements allied with it, and a "hidden" aspect. All three converged at the hallmark of the original Arab Shī'ism— the principle of Legitimism symbolized by the notion of Imāmah,[6] i.e. the conviction that leadership of the Muslim community rightfully belongs to a member of the Prophet's Family (Ahl al-Bayt).[7] The Kūfan Arabs, especially the South Arabian tribes, championed this legitimist claim and made it the basis of their socio-political activities. It is perhaps an ironic twist of history that the Yamam, which undoubtedly contributed

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so much to the first, "visible" aspect of early Shī'ism, today harbours one of the last monuments of this original Arab legitimist Shī'ism, the Zaydiyyah. Laura Veccia Vaglieri recognizes:[8]

> . . . l'existence de deux courants dans la plus antique Shī'a des Arabes et des Sémites arabisés (le ghuluww, le Shī'Ïsme extrémiste, avec son bagage d'idées si peu islamiques, est autre chose):
>
> 1. Un courant qui, pour la conquête du pouvoir, contait seulement sur le principe légitimist, appuyé sur la veneration de quiconque avait dans les veines le sang du Prophète;
>
> 2. L'autre courant, qui entendait actualiser la politique sociale de 'Alī et qui s'appuyait sur l'admiration, (jamais diminuée, au contraire accrue au cours des années), envers l'homme considéré comme étant l'interprète le plus fidèle de la volonté de Mahomet et donc de Dieu, indépendamment de sa parenté;
>
> ce courant prenait sa force du mécontentement des mawālī, . . . des gens écrasés par des impôts jugés iniques, des opprimés, des humiliés, des esclaves. C'est seulement à cause de ce second courant que l'on peut comprendre comment, plusieurs fois, des Ṭālibites, en tant que parents de 'Alī sans être des descendants de Fāṭima, purent conduire des révoltes et remporter des succès.

Yet besides these two aspects of the Shī'Ī movement of the first two or three centuries of Islām, we can recognize a third, less "visible" current. It is undeniable that from its beginnings Shī'ism became a cover for different forces of social and political discontent (from 'Uthmān's assassination on).[9] At the same time it exhibits marked traces of 'religious' and 'spiritual' elements, these constituting its "hidden" aspect.[10] In this regard, the evidence of the poets[11] and of the quoted correspondance is helpful.[12] The heresio-

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graphers, the rijāl and early tradition collections also aid us to apprehend the interplay and amoebic shiftings of the early Shī'ī groupings, movements, trends of thought, circles of followers and armed revolts. In particular, the phenomena of 'heretical' circles of the Imāms as gleaned from these sources, can provide some illuminating glimpses into the more hidden face of early Imāmī Shī'ism, but this type of evidence is hard to handle judiciously.[13]

The issue of the early Ghulāt[14] — namely, to what extent did these early "heretics" actually 'divulge' the secret doctrines of the Imāms, or mangle them in the process of divulging them, or adapt their teachings from the particular tributary of the great oriental fountain of gnostic or esoteric disciplines which reached them— represents the confrontation of the "visible" and the "hidden" aspects of early Imāmī Shī'ism. Every individual proponent and grouping with in the ghuluww has to be cautiously weighed separately in this regard, and each may be found to embody one or more of the above three attitudes, if not something else besides. This prompts us to raise the question: to what extent did early Imāmī Shī'ism serve as a cover for various spiritual and religious teachings which had been displaced by the Opening of Islām? The advent of Islām may well have been a boon to many a dissident fringe group or system of faith and practice.

There is a further complication hindering a correct view, namely the obscurity surrounding the early doctrinal / dogmatic evolution of the Shī'ah, the true stages by which these different

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motives and ideas were fused in the crystallization of a tā'ifah and a madhhab— rival to the other great emerging schools of thought and practice of Islām, whether juridical, theological or political, and with its own peculiar answer to every burning question of the day. We have been forced to the view that a useful distinction can be made between the teachings which the Imāms conveyed to their Shī'ah and the particular use and intentions which the Shī'ah made of these teachings afterwards.

In this connection it is profitable for us to briefly allude to observations which aid us in clarifying our acute historical problem. We may point to the fact that the group of al-Ṣādiq's followers, as well as those of his father Muḥammad al-Bāqir, were recruited from different spiritual climates (see below p. 45). Islāmic society of the second and third centuries Hijrī was as pluralistic as had been the Hellenistic world of the third century B.C. and that of the Sasanid renascence in the beginning of the sixth century A.D., and it had an experience of the variety of cultural life that was even greater than theirs.[15] If men from different trends in Islām were attracted by the person of Ja'far, were those with gnostic affiliations the only exception? In the elaboration of Imāmī gnosis, both the pre-Islāmic Arabian and the Mesopotamian milieus must be taken into account. We must acknowledge that the picture as it is painted in Ithnā 'Asharī writings shows an emphasis on the heritage of the Prophet's Family as guardians of the key to the Qur'ān[16] and of the reality of Muḥammad's prophetic

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experience, and was at pains to see to it that this reality played its share in the shaping and perhaps re-shaping of the Islāmic tradition.

What stirs us here is the important bearing which these sources have for a deeper understanding of the spiritual milieu in which the Shī'ah have wrapped the Imām's message. A calm and cautious use of this material is of extreme importance for the quest of the substratum of esoteric Islām. An analysis of Ithnā 'Asharī material, long overdue, may well show that there are strata which lead us to an older form of Imāmī traditions embedded in later formations. All attempts to recapture al-Ṣādiq's teaching must attain some insight into the nature of the very process of the traditions which have kept the memory of the man alive in the hearts of one generation to another within the schools which grew from the seeds of the living words of the Imāms. The preservation of al-Ṣādiq's teaching is due to the importance which it assumed for the spiritual life of the groups which considered themselves his heirs. It must never be forgotten that the literature which has come down to us is but a dim reminder of a living process of religious tradition.

Khaṭṭābī / Mukhammisah (so-called 'proto-Ismā'īlī') and early Nuṣayrī traditions clearly reflect the teaching of Ja'far and his father wrapped in the milieu of a cognate movement which has presented its saints as the first disciples of al-Ṣādiq.[17] This compels us to reckon seriously with the possibility that this type of Imāmī tradition brings us close to the same native soil of

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that spiritual realm which also provided the canvas for early Ithnā 'Asharī writings. Fresh research into the sources at our disposal is required in order to grapple with the possibility of a plurality of molds for al-Ṣādiq's esoteric teaching, ideologies shaped by spiritual and transcendental, rather than theological and political, interests. The study of al-Ṣādiq's teaching will be appreciated by the historian, for Imāmī Shī'ī streams divided the Islāmic community into various groups for long afterwards. Each group came to understand and interpret the Islāmic message in its own way, shaping oral and written tradition according to its particular outlook. The student of human significances will equally appreciate a sincere attempt to appropriate al-Ṣādiq's teaching, but only if the particular outlooks already shaped in us be laid aside.

These observations form the background to the question of whether esotericism had its place in this picture of nascent Islām. The veil over this question is very slowly being lifted and prudence dictates that what is known today is not yet the whole story. According to the signs that have come into view this picture of the beginnings in certain strands of Imāmī Shī'ism must have been still more colorful than the sources and shreds of sources at our disposal now permit us to see. Let us pass on to a discussion of various issues which we touched upon above.

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Abū 'Abdallāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq

(83 - 148 A.H. / 702-3 - 765 A.D.)

II. LIFE AND PERSONALITY

Ja'far al-Ṣādiq was born in Madīnah, where he lived for most of his life, and was raised under the tutelage of his grandfathers and father, in the house which had been the home of the Prophet Muḥammad.[18] From his mother's side he was a descendant of Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq,[19] for his maternal grandfather was Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr (d. 108), a close companion of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn "Zayn al-'Ābidīn", and one of the most erudite of Madinese traditionists. Ja'far was twelve years old when his grandfather 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn died in 95 A.H., and about thirty two years of age at the death of his father Muḥammad al-Bāqir in 115 A.H. Ja'far lived for thirty three more years until his own death in 148 A.H., becoming not only the longest lived of the first eleven Ithnā 'Asharī Imāms, but also exercising the office of Imāmah longer than any other. He thus had ample opportunity to benefit from the knowledge and experience of his father and grandfathers.[20]

At the time Ja'far succeeded to the headship of his family the Umayyad Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (ruled 106-126/724-743) was

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Khalīfah. In the eleventh year of his leadership, 126/744, the next Umayyad Walīd b. Yazīd b. ʿAbd al-Malik was murdered, to be followed by the remaining three Umayyad rulers, until 132/750, when al-Saffāḥ toppled them, inaugurating the ʿAbbāsid era. In the twenty first year of Jaʿfar's Imāmate, al-Manṣūr assumed control of the ʿAbbāsid empire in al-Ḥīrah in 136/754. The last fifteen or sixteen years of al-Ṣādiq's life under the reigns of the ʿAbbāsids al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr appear to have been the most active and influential years of his life, in which he made several extended stays in Iraq at the behest of the ʿAbbāsids. Al-Ṣādiq's visits to al-Ḥīrah and Kūfah, first during al-Saffāḥ's rule, then at the repeated commands of al-Manṣūr,[21] must have had a great effect on the circles of his followers in Iraq,[22] affording a personal contact with the Imām and enabling him to consolidate, discipline and spread the circles of his disciples, as well as win new supporters such as Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. Another of the effects of the advent of al-Ṣādiq in Iraq was his promotion of Ziyārat to the site of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib's grave.[23]

Our sources contain many stories about the meetings of al-Ṣādiq with al-Manṣūr, and despite the embellishments they have received, they allow us to discern something of the public side of his life.[24] We would like to draw attention in particular to the story of al-Ṣādiq's will[25] in which al-Manṣūr, upon learning of his death in Madīnah, instructs his governor Muḥammad b. Sulaymān to kill whoever had been designated as Jaʿfar's successor, but is

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outwitted when he learns that several people were named by al-Ṣādiq to be his executors— including al-Manṣūr himself, along with the Imām's two sons 'Abdallāh and Mūsá. Whether Ja'far did so out of prescience of al-Manṣūr's suspicions and in order to safeguard the lives of his sons (khawfan 'alá ibnihı Mūsá wa taqiyyatan, as al-Mas'ūdī states[26]), what is certain is Ja'far's death served as the point of departure for a realignment of Imāmī sub-groupings which was to have profound consequences for later Islāmic history.

Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's lifetime thus spans a formative period in Islām: the demise of Umayyad rule, the establishment of 'Abbāsid hegemony, as well as the naissance of Islāmic religious and intellectual sciences and the crystallization of various groupings within the Muslim community. In doctrinal spheres it was a period which witnessed a compromising attitude between the ahl al-hadīth and the Murji'ites in their efforts to standardize a corpus of doctrine for the synthesis of the Jamā'ah, as well as the first elaboration of Mu'tazilī teaching. Furthermore it was one of the most tumultuous phases of early Shī'ism during which messianic apocalypticism became widespread in the idea of the Mahdī which found expression in a series of violent revolutionary movements. The second century also witnessed the emergence of new social and economic forces with the 'Abbāsid revolution— a re-alignment of classes on more economic rather than ethnic lines, along with an increased commercial activity. If this century deserves to be characterized as "a period of revolutionary incubation"[27], its less visible aspect of conceiving and

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fostering a rich spiritual dynamic within Imāmī Shī'ism is no less true. Although our concern in these pages centers on the teaching for which the Imām was afterwards remembered by the various streams of Islāmic belief and practice considering themselves his heirs, an acquaintance with the multifaceted Shī'ism of his day aids us in appreciating al-Ṣādiq's role as disseminator of knowledge. But here we meet a major stumbling block.

The history of ancient Shī'ism (including what we have termed Imāmī Shī'ism; see above n. 6) from its origins till the 'Abbāsid revolution remains to be written.[28] The all too frequent historical emphasis in studies of early Shī'ism, their pre-occupation with "visible" political motives, often leads to an unfortunate deprecation or reduction of problems of doctrine.[29] Likewise, any attempt to portray the elaboration of doctrines or teachings which ignores the historical events remains incomplete at best, or even misleading. Besides the many gaps in our knowledge, there is the difficulty of the qualitative differences in our sources. The two main lines of sources— historical and heresiographical— clash, for the historical sources barely mention what took place in doctrine while the heresiographical sources basically ignore the historical events.[30] An examination of historical writings for information about al-Ṣādiq's teaching, for example, yields little.[31] The heresiographers, particularly al-Nāshi' al-Akbar, Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh al-Qummī, and al-Nawbakhtī, do provide valuable material on Imāmī groupings[32] and ghālī exponents, and we should remember that the

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ghuluww phenomena represent one of the crisis points in the early history of Islāmic thought. Furthermore, there exist several other types of early sources which repay close examination for traces of al-Ṣādiq's teaching, and testify to his reputation as a traditionist.[33] However, the most valuable body of sources for the teaching of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq are the early tradition collections, tafsīr works and rijāl compilations of Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism.

Among the welter of Imāmī Shī'ī currents, 'Alid pretenders and ghālī exponents in the more than eighty years between the revolt of al-Mukhtār (66-67/686-687) and the death of al-Ṣādiq, there is a general consensus to make a distinction between legitimist movements within the ranks of Arab aristocracy which were promoted by the 'Alids themselves (e.g. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, Zayd b. 'Alī, al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah), and religious/heterodox movements coinciding with the active participation of the Mawālī (e.g. al-Mukhtār, Bayān, al-Mughīrah, 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyyah, Abū Manṣūr al-'Ijlī, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb, . . .)— without denying that non-Arab 'religious' opposition moves in conjunction with Arab legitimist opposition.[34] Any treatment of these latter movements and of the teaching of al-Ṣādiq ought to take due cognizance of the background offered by the history of contemporary religious ideas. It is not sufficient to imagine that the spiritual teachings of the Imāms were composed by means of a learned exegesis or the fantastic speculations of heretics; we must ask ourselves from where all the curious ideas come that were supposedly read into the text of the Qur'ān,[35] and

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why they were so eagerly embraced by some Muslims. This is tantamount to apprehending their real motives and intentions, the authentic significance of their teachings. It is from such a perspective that we allow ourselves to perceive al-Ṣādiq's teaching as a profound expression of Islāmic gnosis.

Passing in review some of the landmarks in the horizon of early Imāmī Shī'ism with an eye peeled for those features relevant to the spiritual ambiance of al-Ṣādiq's inner teaching, we pause first to contemplate the movement sparked by al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī known as the Kaysāniyyah.[36] The Kaysāniyyah movement comprised all the groupings which evolved out of the revolt of al-Mukhtār and traced the Imāmate through Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah;[37] its energies became canalized into the various movements tinged by Mazdaean and Mazdakian milieus (e.g. the Ḥarbiyyah, the Janāḥiyyah, the Khurramiyyah), the various groupings of the 'Abbāsid Shī'ah (e.g. the Rāwandiyyah), and absorption into the rising tide of Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism in Iraq. The key ideas of Mahdī, badā', ghaybah, raj'ah, as well as nass (the explicit designation of an Imām) and other important aspects of the radical religious theory of Imāmah first make widespread appearance with the Kaysāniyyah and its cognate groupings.[38] It remains an open question whether neo-Kaysāhi ideology played any part in later Shī'ah movements such as the Qarāmiṭah in the third century.[39] "Les différents groupes de la Kaisāniyya," observes Van Arendonk, "se caractérisaient tous par des doctrines qui les placaient en dehors de l'orthodoxie, et trahissent l'influence

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de théories messianiques et gnostiques. Ils avaient en commun leur amour pour 'Alī et sa famille, et leur haine envers la dynastie régnante."[40]

Following the death of Abū Hāshim 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah at Ḥumaymah in 97 or 98, serious divisions fragmented the original Kaysāni impetus. Other facets of Imāmī Shī'ism, particularly the legitimist Arab aristocratic elements, became interwoven with the cultural, political, and religious forces which had been unleashed. It will be instructive to give a 'catalogue' of the more important events occuring during al-Ṣādiq's adult years, bearing in mind that they form the visible tips of iceberg-like masses whose specific volume and weight can only be guessed.

95 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-'Ābidīn,[41] Ja'far's grandfather, dies.

97 or 98 : death of Abū Hāshim,[42] followed by the genesis of 'Abbāsid propaganda.

115 Muḥammad al-Bāqir, Ja'far's father, dies;[43] al-Ṣādiq assumes the headship of the Ḥusaynid 'Alids, a position which he only shares with his uncle, Zayd b. 'Alī, in the eyes of some.[44]

119 Bayān b. Sam'ān[45] and al-Mughīrah b. Sa'īd[46] (both Kūfan Arabs who were renegades from al-Bāqir's circle) attempt a joint uprising in Iraq and are burned to death by the Umayyad governor in Kūfah.

122 Zayd b. 'Alī is killed in Kūfah in an unsuccessful yet extremely popular revolt, his body left crucified naked.[47]

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ca. 122 (or somewhere between 120 - 126) : Abū Manṣūr al-'Ijlī (from the Sawād of Kūfah, and with links with al-Bāqir) is put to death by the Umayyad governor of Iraq.[48]

125 Yaḥyá b. Zayd is killed in Khurasān in the aftermath of his father's revolt.[49]

ca. 126 : Following the murder of the Umayyad khalīfah al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik, the leading scions of Banū Hāshim hold the first of several meetings at al-Abwā' to plot their course of action; 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan "al-Mahḍ" urges the candidacy of his eldest son Muḥammad (dubbed "al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah" and "al-Mahdī"), the 'Abbāsids seemingly acquiesce, al-Ṣādiq emphatically abstains.[50]

127 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyyah (the great grandson of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib) revolts in Kūfah; he flees to Khurasān, where he meets with limited success, only to be treacherously imprisoned and poisoned by the 'Abbāsid dā'ī Abū Muslim in 129.[51]

129 Abū Muslim enters Marw, openly initiating the 'Abbāsid revolution.[52]

132 al-Saffāḥ completes the annihilation of the Umayyads, and inaugurates the 'Abbāsid dynasty.

136 Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr begins his reign.[53]

138 Abū al-Khaṭṭāb is executed in Kūfah by al-Manṣūr.[54]

140 al-Manṣūr arrests 'Abdallāh al-Mahḍ while on ḥajj.

144 al-Manṣūr takes more than a dozen prominent Ḥasanids to Iraq where he incarcerates them.[55]

145 al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah and his brother Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh both die in their long-prepared yet unsuccessful revolts, the former in Madīnah, the latter near Kūfah.[56]

148 Ja'far al-Ṣādiq dies in his home in Madīnah, aged sixty-five.

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A glance at this catalogue of events and personalities will at once show us that al-Ṣādiq's thirty three or so years as Imām were very frequently punctuated by bloody revolts and personal disasters involving members of his extended family as well as individuals and groupings who, uninvited or not, had allied themselves to the cause of his family. We can appreciate all the more his famous dictum: "Whoever seeks worldly leadership (al-ri'āsah) perishes."[57]

It is in the crowded events occuring in his lifetime that we must seek the reasons for the rise to prominence of the Imāmate of al-Ṣādiq, who succeeded in winning to his person a significant following, especially in Iraq. This marked an important development over the Imāmates of his father and grandfather, their Shī'ah "having been reduced to an insignificant following by the abandonment of the line of the quiescent Imams by the majority of the Shi'is, who had been persuaded to join the extremist and revolutionary factions."[58] The quietism of the Ḥusaynid Imāms stands out disquietingly throughout all the tumultuous events of this watershed period. In the case of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, we must admit that his outwardly passive or 'disinterested' attitude could only by maintained by a ceaseless and active striving which involved balancing off the constant suspicions of the khalīfah, the mutual rancour and ambitions of his relatives, the repeated ascriptions of religious fanatics, and the very genuine expectations of his devoted followers. That al-Ṣādiq managed to suffer intact these pitfalls, temptations and intrigues is perhaps

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the best testimony to his practical experience of human affairs and his remarkable character.

This dis-engaged stance of al-Ṣādiq in relation to his contemporary political and revolutionary milieu raises the question of his motives, of how he conceived his own role in the drama unfolding around him. Clearly Ja'far had a strong distaste for the game of power, an aversion for the grim expediencies of the rulers as well as the desperate ambitions of calculating rebels or religious enthusiasts. In the meeting at al-Abwā', for instance, where al-Ṣādiq was insistently called upon to recognize al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah as the Mahdī by 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, his forceful abstention[59] may be viewed in the light of the religious situation prevailing among the Shī'ah in the eve of Umayyad rule and his paramount concern to ensure the propagation of his own family's teaching on the Walāyah of the Imām, not to mention the long established rivalry between Ḥasanid and Ḥusaynid 'Alids.[60] To see in his attitude at al-Abwā' a suppressed political ambition runs contrary to the prevailing trend in the rest of his public career. Yet this is what 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan saw to be behind al-Ṣādiq's aloofness, attributing it to his jealousy of al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah. It is this disdain for the moving factors prompting his peers' ambitions, this self-contained almost regal unconcern (what one student terms "this almost farouche quality"[61]) which hides an essential key that can help us unlock the mystery of the Imām, and plunge us into the depths of his spiritual ideology. For there exists

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unanimous testimony that al-Ṣādiq was deeply engaged in the intellectual and religious milieu of his day, and it is without doubt because of his committment to 'Ilm/Knowledge that his memory became enshrined in Muslim tradition.

An attentive scrutiny of Shī'ism in Ja'far's lifetime discloses the parallel influence of two major attitudes: the first was neo-Kaysāni messianism with its revolutionary orientation and tendency towards 'ghālī' mystical anarchy (e.g. the motif of revenge and the concrete political expectations both enveloped within the Mahdī dogma); and the second was best represented by Zayd's program with his stress on 'Alid legitimism balanced by moderating overtures to the ahl al-hadīth as seen in his acceptance of their conception of 'ilm. The ambiguity of this fluid situation[62] allowed the Ḥasanid claimants to attempt to combine these two attitudes in the hope of ensuring a broader base of support— witness the participation of certain ghulāt currents in al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah's revolt on the one hand, and the sympathetic response of traditionist and legal circles of the Ḥijāz and Iraq on the other hand. The 'Abbāsid party harnassed the energy of neo-Kaysāni millenarianism more efficiently, particularly in their exploitation of mawālī expectations; yet in the long run 'Abbāsid success was only consolidated by their aboutface vis-a-vis such messianic ideology, and by gaining the legal support of traditionist and theological circles through the promotion of their conception of 'ilm. Now, we find that al-Ṣādiq neither promoted apocalyptic revolt (e.g. his spurning the overtures of Abū Muslim and

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Abū Salamah) but rather seems to have abhorred neo-Kaysāni messianism, nor did he accept the generally held conception of 'ilm as it was being elaborated and spread by the traditionist-juridical circles of the Ḥijāz and Iraq, preferring instead to enunciate his own particular viewpoint and body of traditions on virtually all aspects of the burgeoning Islāmic disciplines.[63] In doing so, he only followed in the footsteps of his father.

We shall mention here, as briefly as possible, one of the major bones of contention between al-Ṣādiq and his Ḥasanid cousins which illuminates the differing conceptions of 'ilm current in Imāmī Shī'ism of the first half of the second century. A number of early Ithnā 'Asharī reports[64] describe the acrimonious exchanges between al-Ṣādiq and al-Mahd over who really possessed the sword of the Prophet Muḥammad, the famed Dhū al-Faqār[65] presented to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Apparently a group of Kūfan Zaydis, partisans of Hārūn b. Sa'īd al-'Ijlī, known as al-'Ijliyyah, spread the view that al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah possessed this sword.[66] Yet the issue of Sayf Rasūl Allāh was only part of the larger issue of Prophetic inheritance involving questions of divinely sanctioned authority, the One to whom obediance was obligatory, and inherited knowledge, all of which found expression in the object termed "al-Jafr."[67] This red leather bag or travelling case (whose distinct affinities with the ancient Arabian Qubbah, Mahmal and 'Utfah have not hitherto been recognized by researchers[68]) was claimed to contain the Prophet's sword by the Ḥasanids, who hoped in this way to rally the pious Legitimist

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opposition and the messianic currents to their cause. At the same time, al-Ṣādiq (as his father before him) emphatically declared himself to be in sole possession of this red leather case, and alleged that besides the personal effects of the Prophet Muḥammad such as his sword, coat of mail, bow, banner and ring, it also contained a number of secret religious scrolls such as al-Jāmi'ah, Mushaf Fātimah, the Torah, the Injīl, the Psalms of David, the scrolls of Moses and of Abraham, the knowledge of the scholars of the Hebrews, as well as various prophetic relics, e.g. the staff of Moses, his basin, Solomon's Seal, the shirt of Adam, and even the Greatest Name of God.[69] The possession of al-Jafr was the outward symbol for the Ḥusaynid Imāms spiritual authority and special knowledge, their Walāyah finding appropriate expression in terms intelligible to deep-rooted Arabian and Semitic notions (the oracular tent/shrine of the old Kāhin/Sayyid/Rabb al-Bayt, and the prophetic resonances of the 'Tent of Meeting'/Ark of the Covenant/locus of Sakīnah).

Thus we find various versions of the following statements often quoted: from al-Bāqir, "The weapon (of the Prophet) with us is like the Tābūt (Ark of the Covenant) with Israel, for wherever the Tābūt passes thereupon is the Angel,[70] and wherever the weapon (of the Prophet) passes thereupon is the 'Ilm;"[71] and from al-Ṣādiq, "With me is the Tābūt which the Angels came bearing it, and the likeness of the weapon (of the Prophet) with us is like unto the Tābūt with Israel, for the people of Israel, to whichever Ahl Bayt the Tābūt stood still at the door of their dwelling, Prophecy

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(al-Nubuwwah) would be given, and whomsoever from among us the weapon (of the Prophet) comes to, al-Imāmah is given . . ."[72] Al-Mahd received al-Ṣādiq's claim that he alone possessed al-Jafr with a satirical mockery of al-Ṣādiq's military prowess, dubbing him as a 'book worm' (rajul suhufī[73]), to which al-Ṣādiq assented, insisting all the while that he indeed had at his disposal the scrolls of his 'fathers' Moses and Abraham as a unique inheritance from Muḥammad. Al-Ṣaffār preserves a report to the effect that al-Ṣādiq was informed of al-Mahd's claims that he had only the knowledge which the people had, and Ja'far observed: "He speaks truly, by God! he possesses only the knowledge possessed by the people; but with Us by God! is the Jāmi'ah . . ."[74] Ja'far is also quoted as rebutting Ḥasanid claims to possess al-Jafr by imputing their motives to: "envy and the seeking of worldly things, and if they sought the Truth (al-Ḥaqq) it would be better for them."[75]

What strikes us above all in the controversy over al-Jafr is al-Ṣādiq's claim that his authority and status was primarily dependant on 'special knowledge' not shared by the community at large, and that the possession of this 'Ilm was the distinguishing trait of the true Imām who is specially designated (nass) to receive it as a unique inheritance.[76] Even his insistence on his possession of the sword of the Prophet, so manifestly a symbol of political priority and revolutionary appeal, is presented in terms of prophetic wisdom and designated inheritance of religious and spiritual guidance, a sword of gnosis, if you will. This suggests that al-Ṣādiq was

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engaged in a different sort of battle than his 'Alid relatives. Without pausing to discuss other related aspects of his controversies with his intellectual peers[77] let us take a glance at his personal qualities.

Ithnā 'Asharī traditions often describe Ja'far's gestures and hand movements, his pointing to the sky or to his left or right, thus communicating the gist of something with an expressive motion. Once he explained the term harajan ('close') in the Qur'ān (6:125) by making a tight fist of his hand "like a solid mass which neither emits anything or permits anything to enter."[78] In contrast to the commonly accepted reports of his self-denial, Ja'far wore costly and decorative clothes, praying in them and circumambulating the Ka'bah beautifully attired and perfumed, thus arousing the curiousity of the ascetically minded.[79] He was well known for his love of books, and book dealers would bring him unusual or decorative rarities.[80] Ja'far was also noted for his veracious predictions of future events, some of them involving different members of his extended family, and was often consulted on the interpretation of dreams.[81] He is depicted as possessing a disconcerting ability to read the inner thoughts of those about him, often answering questions before they were voiced or reprimanding people for their inner intentions.[82] General Muslim tradition agrees on al-Ṣādiq's fame for religious learning and piety, while Shī'ah and Ṣūfī sources have venerated him as a saint and surrounded him with an aura of mystical profundity and spiritual pre-eminence hard to match in Islām. Perhaps the most widely reported and most characteristic trait that Muslim tradition endows al-Ṣādiq with, outside of his veracity and learning, is al-Waqār— sober and dignified deportment— a trait which is understood to indicate the presence of al-Sakīnah, that divinely inspired tranquillity of mind often associated with prophecy.[83]

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III. THE TEACHING OF JA'FAR AL-ṢADIQ

It is clear from our sources that Ja'far participated in the general scholarly activity of Madīnah, where circles of religious learning gathered in the Mosque of the Prophet, yet he also maintained the practice of his father and grandfather in holding more private sessions in his house.[84] Here in the security of his home he would receive the 'elite' (al-khāssah[85]), i.e. his Shī'ah following, imparting to them his family's particular tradition. To many of his more intimate companions and retainers al-Ṣādiq offered an inner teaching expressed in an obscure style and in an enigmatical manner, as if the gist of his meaning was left for them to surmise by those who could understand him.[86] "I speak on a topic from seventy different aspects," Ja'far is reported to have said, "and for every one of them I know the way out (al-makhraj)."[87] He kept in constant touch with his Shī'ah outside of the Ḥijāz by means of written epistles, through appointed representatives (wakīls), a steady stream of visitors (especially from Kūfah), as well as the annual gathering of the Ḥajj ritual.[88] If we bear in mind this plural projection of his teaching it aids us to appreciate how different segments of the Muslim community came to appropriate and preserve various portions of al-Ṣādiq's teaching. For many of his contemporaries in the Ḥijāz and Iraq, Ja'far was seen as a distinguished traditionist from among the 'Alids who inculcated moral truths, taught the interpretation of the Qur'ān

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and propagated his family's ideas on a wide variety of legal and theological issues current in his time.[89] It is possible to view him within the context of the Madinese ahl al-hadīth, and also as a moving founder of the juridical basis for madhhab Ahl al-Bayt, thus explaining his rivalry with Abū Ḥanīfah for example. Ja'far is also represented as holding a distinct position within the current theological trends of his time such as the Murji'ah, the Qadariyyah, the Jahmiyyah and the Mu'tazilah, which involved at the same time his understanding of religious leadership. Representatives from all these trends frequented his majālis or the sessions at his 'academy' as well as noted figures from ascetic circles (e.g. Sufyān al-Thawrī), many Persian and Greek mawālī, and exponents of Dualistic traditions (Daysānite and Manichaean).

In these pages we are concerned only with his more restricted teaching activity, involving individuals for whom Islām was not simply a way of salvation but primarily a path to sanctification. Al-Ṣādiq made a decisive distinction between two different types of men, so determined from their origin (min asl al-khalq) and recognizable by the absence or presence of love for the Imām (or for the Walāyah of the Family of the Prophet) deep in their hearts. His distinction was expressed in the notions: kāfir - mu'min ; nār - jannah ; tīnat al-nār - tīnat al-jannah ; and a number of other ideas (e.g. mā' al-mālih al-ujāj - mā' al-'adhb al-furāt, and in his teaching on Ādam and Iblīs).[90] For the latter individuals Ja'far was seen as a saint whose descent from the Prophet Muḥammad indicated

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a distinct degree of prophetic knowledge and divine assistance, and whose personal qualities attested to his semi-prophetic status.[91] To such individuals al-Ṣādiq communicated his more important doctrines after they had been duly instructed and disciplined, imposing on them the obligation of secrecy. This obligation of taqiyyah[92] ('secrecy'), in its primal signification, refers to the oath required from his Shī'ah not to divulge what they had learned, as its synonym kitmān al-sirr makes clear. The importance of taqiyyah results directly from the division, continually stressed by al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, of 'Ilm into exoteric and esoteric[93] and probably lies behind Ja'far's understanding of bay'ah or the oath of obediance. How far this condition of secrecy was proper may be perceived when we contemplate the peculiarly profound character of his teachings against the background of the outer circumstances of his life. This is not to deny the practical 'political' expediency of taqiyyah for Shī'ism in Ja'far's time, an essential pre-requisite for any underground revolutionary organization, but to give due weight to its significance in the projection of his inner teaching.

Al-Ṣādiq's conception of Imāmah unfolds out of his perception of the permanent need of mankind for a divinely guided, infallible leader and authoritative teacher in religion. "The imāmate was thus raised to the level of prophecy. The only difference between the messenger prophet (rasūl) and the imām was that the imām did not transmit a divine scripture."[94] Among all the incredible statements concerning the role and the meaning of the Imām, we quote a rather

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restrained example said to have been part of Ja'far's speech given to his family's Shī'ah after the death of his father upon his shouldering the task of Imām:[95]

> God, Mighty and Majestic, made clear His religion through the Imāms of Guidance of the Family of our Prophet; He shone on the Way of His program/plan (sabīl minhājihi) through them; and He opened the interior wells of His 'Ilm by means of them. Whoever from among the community of Muḥammad knows ('arafa) the right of his Imām incumbent upon him, finds the relish of sweetness of his faith and learns the grace of his following of Islām. For God, Blessed and Exalted, erected the Imām as a guidepost for His creation and appointed him to be an 'examplar' (ḥujjah) over the members of His 'substance' and the inhabitants of His world (ahl mawāddihi wa 'ālamihi: i.e. those who receive the divine bounty of spiritual illumination and share an essential identity with the Imām's spiritual sphere of Light origin[96]). God clad the Imām with the crown of spiritual-dignity (tāj al-waqār) and enveloped him in the Light of the Allmighty.
>
> The Imām is reinforced by a rope to Heaven (i.e. he has a link/recourse, sabab, to Heaven), he is not sundered from His 'substance' (mawāddahu), and what-is-with-God is only bestowed by means of his ropes (i.e. the Imām's asbāb or connections to Heaven); God accepts the deeds of worshippers only through their knowing the Imām. Thus, the Imām knows what comes upon him of the obscurities of pitch-darkness, the enigmas of the ages and the confusions of sedition. . . .

An examination of two of the themes found in Ja'far's speech may provide us with a handle to grasp his spiritual ideology; one is the notion of Ḥujjah, the other the Asbāb linking the Imām with the celestial world. Essentially, these notions are really only aspects of one underlying theme, namely 'Ilm/Knowledge— which is clearly

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the distinguishing trait of Ja'far's teaching. The following reconstruction is of provisional value, being extremely limited in scope.

In reply to the query: "What are you?", al-Ṣādiq declared: "We are God's treasurers in possession of God's knowledge, We are the 'profoundly-competent-authority' over those who are beneath Heaven and above Earth."[97] Another report has him say: "We are the executors of God's Decree (wulāt Amr Allāh), and the leather-case wherein is deposited God's revelation, and the possessors of God's religion; God's Book descended upon Us, and God is worshipped by means of Us, and if not for Us God would not be known . . ."[98] The Imām's status as Hujjah, as the 'guarantor' or 'authoritative-exponent' for religious knowledge and guidance in all spheres operates in a double manner; he is the channel for God's dispensation to the faithful individual, and the usherer into divine intimacy of the faithful. The Hujjah functions as God's Witness (shuhadā'ahu fī khalqihi[99]), "who by his presence to the Invisible, to the Inaccessible, renders equally present to this Invisible those who bear witness to Him of this presence. The secret of the Imam is therefore that of the Witnesser-Witnessed, of the Contemplator-Contemplated, in short, the very sense of the Theophany without which man would have no positive conception of God."[100]

This function of Witness (or: guarantor, proof) peculiar to the Hujjah concerns his responsibility to uphold God's fulfillment of His contractual obligations in His covenant with man, to testify

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for God against man in the face of human prevarication.[101] The Hujjah is thus God's means of reminding man of his contractual obligation, and a living proof of what it means to fulfill man's part of the covenant. In this, as in other aspects, the Hujjah should be understood as performing a function more commonly associated with prophecy, especially as the Hujjah is singled out for executing the Amr of God.[102]

In fact, it is by virtue of the Imām's delegation by God from pre-creation (al-Hujjah qabl al-khalq . . .), his being elected to implement God's Plan in the primordial Covenant, that a new relationship with God is forged, upon the consciousness of which a new community within the Ummah was formed, the true believers as distinct from the rest of the Muslims.[103] The deep consciousness of the Imāms of the Husaynid line concerning their calling comes from their understanding of the functions which the community of Ahl al-Bayt had to carry out. As the Hujaj of God they were to atone for the earth and prepare judgement for wickedness; they claimed to possess an expiatory significance for Earth and a spiritual significance of cosmic amplitude.[104] This has led one student of Shī'ism to assert: "the Imām attained a much greater religious significance very early in Shī'I tradition than the perfect man ever did in later Sufism."[105]

We find frequent references to the Imām, in particular to al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, as Sāhib hādhā al-Amr, "the Master of this task/mission," and to the inner spiritual teaching-activity of the

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Imām as hādhā al-amr.[106] J.M.S. Baljon has pointed out that in its Qur'ānic usage, the term amr "refers usually to different stages of a carefully prepared and well-thought out world-order," and he translates it, according to context, as "providential rule, dispensation, guidance, mercy, divine judgement, punishment . . ."[107] If his assertion is correct that in some contexts, "amr refers to the preservation of the universe,"[108] it would conform to al-Ṣādiq's understanding of the Hujjah, the upholder of God's amr, whose existence is necessary for the subsistance of the world. The view that, as the delegated overseer of the Amr of God for creation, the Imām performs a necessary function for world salvation, points to the eschatological perspective implied in Ja'far's notion of Hujjah.[109] Embedded in the notion of Hujjah we may discern al-Ṣādiq's view of history.

According to al-Bāqir's and al-Ṣādiq's teaching, the universal history of the world is a 'sacred history' whose decisive moments are creation (distinguishing between a first, prior, immaterial/spiritual creation, and a subsequent material creation[110]), the khalifdom of the first Man, the successive appearance of prophetic receptacles of knowledge, and the return to Adamic primacy, through absorption of the saving-knowledge of the Prophets, of a nature at length restored by Truth and Faith. The task of the Hujjah is the righteous work of man's purification with the aim of preparing fit receptacles for such Truth; the raison d'être of 'history' is to manifest Man and to restore him to his spiritual home. This 'sacred history' includes

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the parallel, successive appearance of an opposing or evil factor also destined by God to play a role in the scheme of things, but which thrusts upon man an unavoidable response, a painful choice, a demand to freely turn towards or turn away from aiding and abetting God's Amr. We cannot, in these pages, unfold al-Ṣādiq's historiosophy beyond these crude remarks, but even a lengthy and detailed description would ultimately boil down to two underlying principles. First, the world and history are treated as symbols referring to an inner process. Secondly, at the heart of strictly transcendent and overwhelming monotheism blossoms a pervasive 'radical-dualism,'[111] a paradox demanding careful elucidation. The historical and cosmological content of al-Ṣādiq's teaching, the combination of the most abstract thought with an authentic mythology, can only be explained on the basis of the gnostic experience which animates the whole and gives it its characteristic imprint. The center of gravity of Ja'far's system springs from his own spiritual experience.

The above observations lead us directly to the other theme we have chosen to examine, namely, the Asbāb/'ropes' linking the Imām to the celestial world. Massignon has pointed to the importance of the term sabab in early Shī'ism,[112] particularly in connection with ghālī notions of an angelic emanation (Rūh al-Amr?) which provides the source for the Imām's 'Ilm. In the speech quoted above (p. 33), al-Ṣādiq refers to the Asbāb of the Imām in two ways: first, as the reinforcement or support extended to him from Heaven, and secondly as the sole mode or channel by which "what-is-with-God" can be communicated

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to man. By the first, al-Ṣādiq refers to the notion of ta'yīd, the Imām being mu'ayyad/'reinforced' in the essential part of his being through a spiritual sustenance from God, represented by the Great Angel of the Holy Spirit (Rūh al-Qudus).[113] And by the second, al-Ṣādiq means the channel of God's continuing revelation and ongoing guidance whereby the knowledge of God ultimately possible for man to possess can be received only through the agency of knowing the Imām. These functions are represented by a Column of Light[114] (ʿamūd al-nūr, manār min nūr) erected for the Imām at his birth, enabling him to know the inner conscience of men. Both of these notions turn upon one of the key teachings of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, the Imām as Muhaddath ('he who is addressed in his innermost consciousness by the Great Angel'), as divinely inspired and spoken to by God, and into whose heart knowledge is cast. The notion of the Light-Column implies that the Imām receives direct ʿilm from God (through the medium of the Spirit), knowledge which is not acquired like other knowledge or inherited; whereas the notion of al-Jafr stresses more the idea of prophetic inheritance and knowledge acquired from books, which the Imām has himself been designated to guard through the successive legacies of the prophets and their trustees (al-anbiyā' wa al-awsiyā').[115] Jaʿfar's understanding of the Asbāb confronts us with the issue of nubuwwah/prophecy and wālāyah/'sanctity'[116] and to the particular conception of divine illumination experienced by prophets and Imāms.

It should be borne in mind that in this early period, the

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general understanding of Revelation among Muslims was more flexible and encompassing than it later became, as has been shown in the phenomenon of the Ḥadīth Qudsī.[117] It should not appear strange, therefore, that the Ḥusaynid Imāms enunciated a more or less sophisticated view of the different degrees of prophetic inspiration and modes of revelation thereof, which was to have important consequences for the self-consciousness of mystical Islām. A number of early reports,[118] mostly from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, delineate a scale of prophetic inspiration as follows: 1) the Messenger-Prophet, al-Rasūl, who receives the Angel and sees him by an eye-witnessing; 2) the prophet, al-Nabī, who perceives (sees and hears) the Angel in dream; and 3) the Imām as al-Muhaddath, who only hears the speech of the Angel and into whose heart knowledge is cast.[119] Without pausing to analyse this interesting scheme,[120] which seems to have played an important role in certain ghulāt circles as well,[121] we may epitomize the underlying function of these three modes of revelation as describing how each acquires the 'Ilm which is with God. The function of Ḥujjah enjoyed by the Imām requires that he be in possession of all the knowledge required by the faithful, with the exception of the 'ilm al-ghayb which remains only with God.[122] Thus, as al-Muhaddath, the Imām can be viewed as the mediator between God and man who keeps open the line of communication between them, partly by virtue of his substantial consanguinity with God's Light as well as his distinction of auditing the directives of the Angel. The Imām can also be viewed as an incarnation of consciousness, a

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spiritual Master, with the emphasis laid on his function and not on his personality;[123] so he is described as experiencing spiritual states indicating his appropriation of 'Ilm.

The various means by which the Imām appropriates knowledge corresponds to the different kinds of 'Ilm which he has. When asked about the extent or scope of the Imām's knowledge (mablagh 'ilmihim) al-Ṣādiq declared:[124]

> The extent of our knowledge is of three aspects: that of the bygone past (mād), that of what has elapsed (ghābir), and that which is now occuring (hādith). The past, because our knowledge is an elucidator (mufassir, i.e. an explanation of previous revelations); the recently elapsed, because our knowledge is an illuminator (mazbūr, i.e. it makes understandable and helps establish Muḥammad's revelation); and that which is occuring now, because our knowledge is a casting into the hearts and an inscribing on the hearing, and it is the most excellent of our knowledge. And there is no prophet after our Prophet!

Ja'far claimed that he was superior in knowledge than either Moses or Jesus, for theirs is the knowledge of things past and no longer present ('ilm mā kāna), while his is the knowledge of things to come as well ('ilm mā huwa kā'in).[125] It is in this context of the 'ilm al-hādith that we meet with descriptions of the ascension of the spirit of the Imām up to God's Throne on Friday eve and on Laylat al-Qadr (the 'Night of Power' traditionally associated with the sending down of the first part of the revelation to Muḥammad), where he spends one week of heavenly time circling the Throne in the company of the Spirits of former prophets and their trustees,

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to awaken the following morning back in his body full of contentment and completely replenished in knowledge.[126] If not for this weekly ascension and augmentation of his ʿIlm, the Imām would lose or exhaust what knowledge he already possesses.[127]

Jaʿfar's spiritual teaching is prophetcentric; it is the light of the Prophet and Imām which dawns in the soul, the love[128] of the Family of the Prophet which cleanses it from ignorance, and the Way is the Way of the Prophets and the Awsiyā'. Al-Ṣādiq depicts the life of the true intelligence to be the true Imān/faith, where man's will must be directed towards gnosis of the Will of God. The ultimate object of this gnosis[129] is to regain man's original estate, the prophetic status of Adamic knowledge at the basis of Man's divine likeness, which is vehiculed through a succession of Light-receptacles or pure bodies referred to as the chain of Prophets and Awsiyā'. The 'persons' of the Prophets and the Imāms are viewed, in terms of their essential 'substance' or function, as focus-points for divine ʿIlm and revelatory guidance, also as loci of God's Light and/or the divine Spirit of Truth.[130] The inclination of man's heart towards the higher world (i.e. the inborn love for the Prophet and Imām) unfolds a process of man's becoming light and his experience of receiving knowledge.

For al-Ṣādiq's anthroposophy, or rather 'psycho-anthropology,' the operation of this gnosis/ʿIlm is possible only because of the presence of the Imām, for the Prophet and Imām are understood as the perfect and the 'purest' individual who has appeared in 'this' time—

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the Perfect Man. The Imām is perfect in himself, by the innate perfection of his true inner spiritual essence (his reality is Light and his Spirit is 'Ilm), and he perfects others who know him (and who know themselves) in his true identity and who share in his 'substance' and knowledge. Thus al-Ṣādiq equates the Imām and the Prophet with al-'Aql, noetic intelligence or Nous, the ground of all Understanding and Order in the universe, the pure intellect immanent in every man's heart (hujjat al-bātin) and actualized in the Imām. Because human intelligence derives from the Imām (taken as al-'Aql, the first spiritual creation, the Muḥammadan Light), to know God is to know Him through the Imām.[131] Man's highest attainment and responsibility requires a purification, a suffering sublimation, which involves the willful use of his intelligence in the correct manner, and thus a psychology of the affections and instincts. All these notions are concretely expressed by the term ma'rifat al-Imām, taken as one of the primary duties of religion.

'Knowledge-of-the-Imām'/ma'rifat al-Imām is the prop of al-Ṣādiq's understanding of religious worship/'ibādah, in that ma'rifah/gnosis is realized in worship.[132] "If it was not for God," al-Ṣādiq states, "We would not be known; and if not for Us, God would not be known."[133] We pointed out above (p. 33) that for Ja'far, "God accepts the deeds of worshippers only through their knowing the Imām."[134] A series of key terms come into play here, which qualify the position of the Imām as spiritual guide in the knowledge of God and come to rest ultimately on the foundation of the Walāyah of the

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Imāms: terms such as Bāb, Sabīl, Sirāt, and Wajh Allāh ("al-Wajh alladhī ya'ti minhu").[135] To 'know-the-mām' is to take hold of the guidance which God extends to man by means of his Hujjah, and only by grasping onto the 'rope' (habl Allāh, or 'urwat Allāh al-wuthqá) of the Guide does man truly obey God and verify the truth of His Prophet. Similarly, those who reject, or remain ignorant of the Imām remain strayed from knowledge, unable to perfect or bring to completion their religion.[136]

These pityfully inadequate remarks on al-Ṣādiq's teaching, a teaching rich in detail and scope, will have to suffice us; they may at least provide some hazy landscape in which to place his thought. We have purposely ignored a great deal of Ja'far's thought whose significance was formative for the bulk of his heirs, for example his fiqh/jurisprudence, his exegesis of the Qur'ān or his theological views. Even the sketch provided of his inner teaching could well be extrapolated to show how these other aspects impinge or mesh with this core. Nevertheless, bearing in mind the plural projection of his teaching, and the multiple role al-Ṣādiq clearly played in the intellectual and spiritual currents of his time, his teaching should not be divorced from a consideration of the persons to whom it was addressed, and in what manner, through what route, such a powerful spiritual elixer was bottled, distributed, diluted, mixed and advertised. The teaching must suffer the hands of the taught.

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IV. ITHNA 'ASHARI LITERARY TRADITION

A. Aṣḥāb al-Uṣūl and the Written Transmission of al-Ṣādiq's Teachings

In seeking to comprehend the circles of disciples to whom al-Ṣādiq's inner teaching was relayed, and the factors which determined their reception and transmission of it, we should first ask the question: What did Ja'far al-Ṣādiq understand by referring to certain persons as his Shī'ah? He comments on the Qur'ānic verse 39:9— 'Are those who know equal to those who know not? Verily, only those endowed with understanding will take heed.'— by identifying the Imāms with those who know, their opponents with those who know not, and the Shī'ah with those endowed with understanding (Ulū al-Albāb).[137] Other reports speak of the Imām as the 'Ālim (the gnostic or 'knower') and his Shī'ah as the muta'allim, while the rest of the people are scum/ghuthā'; or divide people hierarchically into three classes, the highest class consisting of "those who are From Us and We from them."[139] "For every thing there is an essence (jawhar)," Ja'far states, "and the essence of Adam's progeny is Muhammad and Us and our Shī'ah."[140] Such statements clearly rank people according to knowledge, the Shī'ah of Ja'far being taken as the highest (next to the Imām) in that they comprise the true believers

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(al-Mu'min haqqan haqqan); they are Āl Muhammad (the Family of Muhammad) and light in the darkness of the earth.[141] Furthermore, their numbers are very few, far fewer than imagined by most of the followers of the Imām.[142]

Ja'far's notion of 'Shī'ah' is further clarified, apart from this hierarchical arrangement of men, by the notion that the true Shī'ah (understood here as the spiritual elite of Islām, the true believers who labour for God's government) are drawn from the social aristocracy of the various ethnic groups found in Islām: 'Arabī, Nabatī/Aramaean, or Fārisī/Persian.[143] Ja'far's son 'Alī transmits an interesting version of this notion from the seventh Imām Mūsá al-Kāẓim (also Ja'far's son, and the brother of 'Alī b. Ja'far):[144] "Our Shī'ah are the Ma'ādin (the 'Mines', the 'sources'; those of antique dignity), and the Ashrāf/Nobility, and Ahl al-Buyūtāt, and he who is of noble lineage/man mawliduhu tayyib."[145] Mūsá explains these categories as follows: al-Ma'ādin are from Quraysh (perhaps this term refers to 'Adnān, the ancestor of the North Arabs?); the Nobility are from the Arabs in general; the Ahl al-Buyūtāt are from the Mawālī[146] and finally man mawliduhu tayyib are from the ahl al-Sawād, i.e. the 'Nabatī' or Aramaean inhabitants of the Tigris and Euphrates. Apart from breathing the lofty air of equality found in the Qur'ān and the Prophet, the point of such sentiments seems to be that the true Shī'ah comprise the spiritual cream of mankind, just as the beings who are able to approach the Amr of the Imām are the best among the Angels, Prophets and the Faithful.[147]

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This elitist understanding of the Shī'ah particular to al-Ṣādiq, as with his father al-Bāqir before him, must always be borne in mind when we deal with the extremely complex and obscure question of how their teaching was transmitted, systematised, codified and even distorted by the disciples of their disciples, eventually emerging over a century later in discrete fragments scattered over a wide range of literary productions reflecting various juridical, theological, philosophical, spiritual, occult and 'heretical' tendencies. As we have chosen to confine this study primarily to early Ithnā 'Asharī sources it is necessary to discuss the process of the transmission of al-Ṣādiq's teachings through successive generations from Ja'far's death in 148 until the compilation of the earliest extant hadīth and tafsīr collections in the period following the occultation of the twelfth Imām in 260. There has been a general tendency in scholarly writings to depreciate the authenticity of the ahādīth from al-Ṣādiq reported in our sources, "works which historians have tended to regard with particular contempt."[148] This opinion has been based largely on unfamiliarity with the material and its peculiar genesis and early development, and upon a tendency to confuse the different stages of the doctrinal evolution of Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism with the received legacy of the Imāms. All studies of the history of Imāmī Shī'ism and of the teaching of al-Ṣādiq based upon Ithnā 'Asharī evidences must therefore be seen as tentative and primitive, for only when we fully comprehend both the way in which our sources took shape and

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the later concerns which have selected and shaped traditions about earlier figures, will we be able to criticize, if not to verify, our literary sources. We are a very long way from such a critical understanding of Ithnā 'Asharī literature.

Yet this problem assumes definite importance when we appreciate that Ithnā 'Asharī tradition presents us with the largest and most comprehensive mass of materials purportedly stemming from the Imāms, particularly al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq. In dealing with the issue of Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ah crystallization, which seeks to explain itself as a development of orthodoxy from the beginning with heresies springing up at the fringes, we would do well to remember that the situation as late as the early fourth century was fluid, and that in most cases heterodoxy preceded orthodoxy, which was only imposed later by the circles of Ithnā 'Asharī 'ulamā' in Buwayhid times. Before that era, there probably was a 'penumbra' between heresy and orthodoxy.

We have hinted at the role that ghulāt tendencies may have played in relation to the reception of al-Ṣādiq's teaching. It seems that Ja'far continued the program of his father in the process of a "formal disciplining" of the ghulāt.[149] It is in connection with this disciplining that we find a number of references to the books compiled by the companions of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq in which they recorded the hadīths of the Imāms.[150] Apart from the problem of whether Muslim literary transmission of hadīths was already established by the early second century (and the historical revision of

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scholarship currently underway), the question of early Shī'ah literary activity is obscure.[151] According to Ithnā 'Asharī tradition, four hundred companions of the Imāms al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim kept memorandum notebooks comprising written records of the Imāms' teachings, termed Kutub al-Usūl[152]/'the Source Books.' While the term kutub al-usūl is a technical term in Islāmic biblio-literary tradition[153] denoting the fundamental books taken to be the most authentic and of primary importance (e.g. the six major hadīth collections for Sunnī Islām), the phrase has a specific meaning peculiar to Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism. The ashāb al-usūl denotes those Shī'ah who collected and wrote down the hadīths of the Imāms either through direct oral transmission from the Imām himself, or directly from the man who himself had received it orally from the Imām. Thus the kutub al-usūl are alleged to represent written records of the Imāms' teachings composed extemporaneously by their disciples, or recorded by the companions and followers of the Imāms' disciples, in impromptu fashion without necessarily being thematically arranged or ordered— somewhat like lecture-notes as an aid to memory and correct transmission.[154] Āghā Buzurg Tehrānī places the majority of the Usūl productions around the time of the Imāmate of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq[155] basing his opinion on what is known about the biographies of the ashāb al-usūl, a high percentage of whom belonged to the Shī'ī Kūfan milieu.

A number of considerations force us to treat this tradition with some seriousness. There are a number of indications, for

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example, which suggest that during most of the second century the propagation and diffusion of the teachings of al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim received a definite impetus which could well have been accompanied by a literary activity.[156] There is the role that the successive centers of Imāmī Shī'ī learning played: the Ḥijāz and Kūfah in the second century, Qumm and Khurasān in the third century, and Baghdad and Ray in the third and fourth centuries.[157] There is the appearance already in the early decades of the third century of the earliest Shī'ī works on Rijāl, centered on biographies of the companions of these three Imāms.[158] There are the major biographical and bibliographical works of the Ithnā 'Asharī school in the third to fifth centuries which reflect the richness and fertility of early Shī'ī literature, the vast majority of which has not come down to us.[159] There are the literary monuments of Shī'ī Hadīth, Tafsīr and Fiqh collections which begin to appear after the occultation of the twelfth Imām in 260, many of which are available to us, and whose form and arrangement testify to a literary development of some maturity behind them.[160] There is the problem of the occurence of hadīths from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq in other, diverse literary traditions in non-Shī'ī sources from the third century on, which often parallels and corroborates material found in contemporary Shī'ī writings, and thus points to common sources behind both.[161] There are the references by Ithnā 'Asharī authors of the fourth century to the kutub al-usūl in their polemical attacks on their opponents.[162] And there is the famed library (Dār al-'Ilm) of Sābūr b. Ardashīr, the minister of the

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Buwayhid Amīr Bahā al-Dawlah, in the Karkh quarter of Baghdad (in the area known as bayn al-sūrayr) between the years 381/991 and 451/1059, in which many of the kutub al-usūl were apparently deposited.[163]

For seventy years this library served as the chief educational and scholarly centre of Ithnā 'Asharī studies, playing a formative role in the intellectual and doctrinal history of three generations of scholars. Handsomely endowed by the gifted Wazīr Abū Naṣr Sābūr b. Ardashīr (d. 416) with over ten thousand volumes, including one hundred maṣāhif of the Qur'ān executed by the Banū Muqlah, it was modelled after the Bayt al-Hikmah of Hārūn al-Rashīd. In this scholar's library, which had the reputation of being the most valuable collection of books in Baghdad, Sābūr collected the books dispersed in Iraq and Iran, paying particular attention to collect original manuscripts in the author's handwriting, and had copies made of the writings of the Indians, Chinese and Greeks. Youssef Eche observes:

> Elle constituait essentiellement un dépôt des chefs-d'oeuvre de la science arabe, chefs-d'oeuvre qui, d'ailleurs, devaient être copiés par des calligraphes ou des savants réputés pour leur exactitude et leurs connaissances étendues. . . . La bibliothèque devint ainsi la source première où les grands savants de cette époque venaient puiser les renseignements exacts. On nous dit meme qu'ils y avaient recours pour mettre fin aux controverses scientifiques. (op. cit., p. 104).
>
> . . . Institution shī'ite, dirigée par des shī'ites, il s'ouvrit à tous les savants sans esprit de partialité. (p. 116). . . . Mettre à la disposition des hommes cultivés la littérature d'une secte quelconque, c'était les inviter à réfléchir sur ses principes et par suite à comprendre ses raisons. Il est regrettable que nous

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> n'avons pas un catalogue des ouvrages d'une de ces bibliothèques des dār al-'ilm pour y distinguer comment les shī'ites essayaient, au moyen des livres, d'influencer les lecteurs. Le préambule du catalogue du dār al-'ilm de Bagdad nous a permis néanmoins de constater l'existence des ouvrages shī'ites. L'expression même qui consacre cette existence est très caractéristique, quoique ingénieusement recherchée: "Les livres des gens de la Maison du Prophète," disait ce préambule. Toute la littérature shī'ite peut être comprise sous cette expression délicate. (p. 147-48).

By this phrase: kutub Ahl al-Bayt, we may understand the books which preserved the original teachings of the 'Alid Imāms, the literary relics of Shī'ism, the kutub al-usūl. Bearing in mind the role of the book in Muslim civilization, we can see that propagating books was equivalent to propagating their doctrine; as Eche has shown in his invaluable study, the very development of the institutions of the Dār al-'Ilm (besides Sābūr's library we may mention others like the Dār al-Hikmah of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh founded in 395, or the Khizānat al-Kutub of the Shī'ite Sayf al-Dawlah b. Ḥamdān (d. 356) in Aleppo) spearheaded a wave of Shī'ī and Ismā'īlī propaganda in the fourth century.[164] With the entrance of Tughril Bek into Baghdad with the Caliph, the well-established internecine riots between the Sunnī and Shī'ī populations of the capital exploded again with the Sunnīs attacking the Shī'ī center of al-Karkh, burning and looting Sābūr's library. Yet a number of the kutub al-usūl seem to have been in use until at least the seventh century.[165]

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B. To the Buwayhid Era and the Construction of a Madhhab

It is evident that during the course of the second century within the circles which established themselves around the Imāms al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq and Mūsá al-Kāẓim, an original speculation emerged which, assimilating the thought of the earlier Shī'ah on the principles of religion and the nature of God, man and morality, established a foundation that smoothed the way towards the theological and polemical elaboration of the dogma of the Imāmate.[166] The earliest group of such speculative thinkers established its focus around al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq and included figures such as Zurārah b. A'yun, Ḥumrān b. A'yun, Hishām b. Sālim, Mu'min/Shayṭān al-Ṭāq, and Qays al-Māṣir. The next generation of early Shī'ī theologians, coinciding with the Imāmates of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim, was spearheaded by one figure in particular, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam[167] (d. 179), who early in his career had associated with both the Jahmites and the Daysānites, and as the main exponent of the circle of Mūsá al-Kāẓim achieved a wide notoriety, as well as priority over the elder Shī'ī mutakallimīn of his time. The efforts of these early speculative theologians and exponents of kalām during the second century laid the fundamental basis for later Ithnā 'Asharī discourses on the principles of religion, while establishing a rational basis of a logical structure for their understanding of the Islāmic revelation. This was done in conjunction with the

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formative impact of a fermenting polemic with other emerging schools of Muslim speculative thought— notably early Mu'tazilism, natural philosophy (in its first appearance as Arabic Hermeticism[168]) as well as certain non-Muslim traditions (e.g. Christianity, Dualism, & Oriental Hellenism). The original content and topics of discussion of this earliest phase of Imāmī speculative teaching remains largely uninvestigated and was to be partially erased by subsequent developments.

Michèle DeAngelis states:

> There is no doubt that the early speculation was modified in religious circles from the period of the imāmate of 'Alī al-Riḍá onward; it is also not unlikely that the earlier thought, formulated and synthesized during the imāmate of Mūsá al-Kāẓim and represented by a thinker such as Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, was rejected in Imāmite kalām- and traditionist circles during the course of the third/ninth century; neither the original works nor the precise subjects of discussion of the early circles are any longer available. The original teachings and topics can now only be known through the works and school-positions of later authors, who designate the early thinkers who established a rational basis for the revelation as "dialectical theologians" (mutakallimīn). . . . it was within this group of thinkers about the Ḥusaynid Imāms that the intellectual currents of Shī'ism were established; the subsequent schools of Imāmite Shī'ite thought, in theology, philosophy and traditional sciences, traced its origin to the circles of the second/eighth century.[169] . . .
>
> It is of essential importance to delineate the early teaching, prior to further comparitive studies of Imāmite theology and also that of other schools. Furthermore, the often-voiced doubt that the early material is a later fabrication cannot be fully decided until further analysis is undertaken. However, the contents of Hishām's teaching as recorded in non-Imāmite sources, absolutely confirm the authenticity of the records of his doctrines in the early Imāmite sources.[170]

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In her important study of Hishām, DeAngelis points out that although his teachings survived well into the third century, and served as the basis for a school of Shī'ī thinkers— notably Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (d. ca. 223, who transmitted Hishām's teaching to the later traditionists of Qumm); Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim and 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm (the former, a key pupil of Yūnus, was one of the first Kūfan scholars to settle in Qumm and introduce the kalām and hadīth traditions of Kūfah, and his son 'Alī was the author of the famous early Tafsīr al-Qummī); and al-Faḍl b. Shādhān al-Azdī al-Nīsābūrī (d. 260)— nevertheless 'Imāmite' thought presents a break in continuity between this early thought and the later schools: "The severing with early tradition, mainly on ilāhiyyāt and the properties of the created being, occurs from the late third/ninth century onward with the adoption of I'tizāl and the growth of the anti-kalām tradition at Qum."[171]

Out of the milieu of Hishām's circle and the early Imāmī Shī'ī schools associated with the line of the Ḥusaynid 'Alids from al-Bāqir to al-Kāẓim emerge two main traditions. One of these groups growing out of Hishām's circle was tied to traditionist circles as represented by the Kūfan tradition, and the early Kūfans at Qumm. The kalām framework upheld by this group reflects the early speculative and hadīth concerns developed from the time of al-Bāqir to the death of al-Kāẓim, and promoted the doctrines of the Imāmate as well as juridical teachings.[172] At the same time, a new current appeared "that rejects not only individual doctrines

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of the early thinkers but also perhaps their whole framework and topics included in kalām, representing a specific move away from a concept of material being and derivation of the divine attributes. This group is in opposition to the maintenance of the earlier thought and begins its ascendency during the imāmate of 'Alī al-Riḍá. Eventually it becomes the theological background for the traditionists at Qum (represented by Ibn Bābūya)."[173]

The second main group stemming from Hishām's circle was not aligned to traditionist circles, and prefigure those who adopted Mu'tazilite doctrines with the Imāmate late in the third/ninth century. DeAngelis observes that: "This kalām-identified group maintained the concerns of 'daqīq min al-kalām', which had been discussed in early Imāmite circles but had become peripheral with the growing ethical and political discussion. It is from this environment that figures such as Abū 'Isá al-Warrāq, Ibn al-Rāwandī and a later Imāmite such as al-Nāshi' al-Ṣaghīr will emerge."[174]

It is clear, therefore, that during the period of Barmakid ascendancy in Baghdad (170-187), certain of al-Sādiq's disciples and their followers and retainers were active in the 'Abbāsid capital.[175] At the same time Kūfah continued to remain the center where his teachings were digested during the second and early third centuries, but already a spreading process was underway. We cannot deal here with the proliferation of groupings and 'sects' which took their cue from al-Ṣādiq's demise or from that of his son Mūsá al-Kāẓim (d. 184), many of which exhibited Wāqifī tendencies and thereby

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attest to the continuing attraction of radical messianism so characteristic of ghālī Islām.[176] The Qat'ivyah groupings, on the other hand, were founded by well-known theologians who accomplished much for the elaboration of Shī'ī teachings and came to be venerated as the first disciples of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim by the Ithnā 'Ashariyyah.[177]

The end of the third/ninth century is associated in Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism with the event of the Shorter Ghaybah of the twelfth Imām (260-329), the emergence of an 'Imāmite' kalām on a Mu'tazilite rational basis, and the ascendency of Qumm as the traditionist school. Abdul Aziz Sachedina, in his study of the development of the dogma of the Hidden Imām in Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism, emphasizes the importance of the Ghaybah of the twelfth Imām for the elaboration of Shī'ī dogmatics and the crystallisation of their system of religious and juridical authority.[178] During the Shorter Occultation, at least four Agents or 'Deputies' performed the duties of relaying the rulings of the hidden Imām and collecting the taxes paid to the Imām by the Shī'ah. They operated mainly in Baghdad, but were in touch with other centres such as Qumm and Ray. Sachedina observes that:[179]

> the question of the two forms of ghaybah (the Short and the Complete) which is the result of the evolution of the doctrine of the Hidden Imām from his being al-Qā'im to his being proclaimed as al-Mahdī, and from the institution of the niyābah of the special agents of the Imām to the claims set forward by the indirect mediators of the Imām— the ruwāt, therefore assumes great importance. The prolonged disappearance of the Imām on the one hand, gave tremendous powers to the jurists and offered them complete freedom of action as far as the religious systematization of

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> Imāmite Shī'ism was concerned. In consequence, major Shī'ī works were compiled and composed during this period. On the other hand, the jurists were confronted with the delicate problem of establishing the authority of the Hidden Imām, through the acknowledgement of which alone they could endorse their actions as the direct or indirect mediators between the Imām and his Shī'ites.

After the special niyābah of the four Agents of the twelfth Imām, i.e. in the period known as the Complete Occultation from 329 onwards, no deputy was to be appointed; the mediators were designated as the ruwāt of the Imāms' hadīths, who were conceived to be indirectly designated to perform the duties of the special agents in religious affairs.[180]

Whatever limited success the budding Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ah may have enjoyed towards the close of the third century[181], it was the fourth and fifth centuries which saw them finally attain an 'official' public organisation, like the parallel fortunes of the Ismā'īliyyah/Fāṭimid dynasty, or the two Zaydī Kingdoms of Ṭabaristān. The fourth century thus saw the rise of Shī'ism as a great political force, and with the ascendancy of the pro-Shī'ah Buwayhid dynasty in the 'Abbāsid court for over a hundred years (334/945 - 447/1055)[182], that trend in Imāmī Shī'ism which only became fully self-conscious after their twelfth Imām's occultation, found both the means and the opportunity to accelerate their process of self-definition and intellectual crystallisation.[183] "This process required a reinterpretation of older texts which, while continuing to be regarded as part of the Shī'ite heritage, no longer fit with the newer modes

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of thinking. The task was facilitated by the increasing importance among the imamites of the science of the 'roots' of sources of legal knowledge (usūl al-fiqh) and by the growing reliance on the method of individual reasoning and interpretation (ijtihād) in the period following the disappearance of the Twelfth Imām."[184] This process of 'reinterpretation' was intimately associated with the position awarded by the Ithnā 'Ashariyyah in the Buwayhid regime, for "without the smallest doubt, Twelver Shī'ism owes to the Buwayhid regime not only this organisation, but even a part of its doctrinal structure."[185]

With the distinguished 'Alid family al-Mūsawī holding the office of the 'Alid Naqīb in Baghdad throughout the whole Buwayhid period, the Sharīf al-Radī and Sharīf al-Murtaḍá occupied a prominent rank in the 'Abbāsid court, often arbitrating between the 'Abbāsid Caliph and the Buwayhid Amīr, and contributed in large measure towards the cultural development of this period. The great impetus to learning given so generously by the Buwayhids,[186] not only in the capital but also by setting up many new courts and cultural centres outside what until then was the more or less unique cultural centre of Baghdad, exercised a vital stimulation to four generations of Ithnā 'Asharī scholars and men of letters. From Shaykh al-Ṣadūq Ibn Bābawayhi al-Qummī (d. 381), to Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413), to Sharīf al-Murtaḍá (d. 436), to Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah al-Ṭūsī (d. 460), many bricks in the edifice of Ithnā 'Asharī dogma, theology, jurisprudence and ritual practice (e.g. the ceremonies of 'Āshūrā' and 'Īd al-Ghadīr

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were introduced in 353 by Mu'izz al-Dawlah) were cemented into place. The latter three men are all counted among the mujtahidūn who employ the method of individual reasoning, which had a direct bearing on their handling of traditions attributed to an Imām that conflicted with accepted dogma. The conflict between the Uṣūliyyah and the Akhbāriyyah in Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism is rooted in the conflict between supporters of speculative theology and traditionalist opponents of reasoning in religion which occured during Buwayhid rule (if not already during the course of the third century).[187]

To make an involved and still imperfectly understood story short, the process of systematisation and revision experienced during the third to fifth centuries determined the form of the Ithnā 'Ashariyyah in its basic outlines until today. This involved the recasting and trimming of the legacy of the Imāms in conformity with the exigencies and impacts provided by the intellectual, political and cultural atmosphere which the Ithnā 'Ashariyyah inhaled following the breaking of the chain linking them with their Hidden Imām, the collection of the Imāms' hadīths, and the accession to power of a pro-'Alid Shī'ī government in Baghdad. A case in point is the differing views among the Shī'ah towards the charge of tahrīf of the Qur'ān (deliberate ommissions or additions to the 'Uthmānic codex), widely reported in the earlier Shī'ah literature on the authority of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, but gradually dropped in Ithnā 'Asharī doctrine in favor of a more moderate position.[188] Increasingly in evidence was a concern for moderation and acceptance by the rest

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of the Muslim community[189] and a marked rejection of the radical spirituality of earlier phases of Imāmī Shī'ism, which had begun to smell too much like the neo-ghālī esotericism of that great 'Alid rival of the Ithnā 'Ashariyyah (and the mortal enemy of the 'Abbāsid Caliph), the Ismā'īliyyah.[190]

At this point we may pose the question: Did the Ithnā 'Asharī 'ulamā' of the third to fifth centuries (let alone the disciples of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq in the second century) derive a rarified 'spiritual' or 'philosophical' meaning from some presumably more originally 'literal' or 'historico-political' sense of the Imām's hadīth; or— did the scholastic, 'theological' study of traditions from al-Ṣādiq really do justice to the deeper intentions of the Imām's teaching (in so far as such dogmatic study viewed the traditional philologically oriented sciences of the religious law as self-sufficient guides for human life)? In a way, the contrast between these two approaches to the teaching of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, taken as the most influential spokesman for Ahl al-Bayt, still throbs fitfully at the heart of Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism, when so many are confidant that they now know their Imām at last, and the burden of realizing the true Imām (ever present yet hidden in man's heart), the unfailing guidance erected by God in man (Hujjat al-Bātin) lies rejected and unrecognized beside us.

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CONCLUSION

In this study we attempt to situate al-Ṣādiq's teaching within the context of the Shī'ism of his time by providing indications to his life and his contemporary milieu, reviewing his teaching activity, and following the transmission of his teachings down to the consolidation of the Ithnā 'Asharī school of Islām. We have raised a variety of questions, not in order to answer them, but rather to understand better the problems involved which prevent us from understanding them. The canvas is very large, and we have contented ourselves with a crude sketch, only filling in a few details in color to convey an impression of what the finished picture might resemble. Throughout this study it should be evident that we are working on a jigsaw puzzle whose pieces are not all available to us. Many other pieces of the puzzle are to be found nearby, but we have not availed ourself of them, for as one of the deepest students of the inner intentions of the Imāms' teachings has remarked: ". . . pour l'étude des origines du shī'isme, nous ne pouvons pas séparer l'"ismaélisme ni la gnose ismaélienne de l'étude du shī'isme duodécimain."[191] The same holds true for other traditions bearing the formative imprint of al-Ṣādiq's teaching, such as the Nuṣayrī, the Ṣūfī, and possibly certain aspects of Muslim philosophy, science and occultism.

Imāmī Shī'ism is a phenomenon that displays the full range of motives and concerns found in the reality of the lives of the

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early Muslims. There is an aspect of early Shī'ism which served as a cover for social revolution and/or the political ambitions of parties who saw the rulers of Islām as usurpers and traitors to the moral and social principles which Muḥammad had struggled to inculcate among his people. Islām had arrived on the world stage as the definitive expression of divine guidance for mankind, and was everywhere victorious; God's Will for man was Law. How then tolerate the travesty of religion represented by a self-serving and hypocritical ruling family? Where to look for that authentic spirituality which quickens the hearts of those seeking an experiential confirmation of the revealed Word? Archaic Shī'ism found expression in the response to these needs. No one has ever cast doubt on the sincerity or the intentions of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ali, the ideal martyr. Even today, Muslim leaders and thinkers proudly invoke this ancient Shī'ī heritage of revolutionary social justice and uncompromising insistence on religious principle. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq himself may perhaps be seen as having condoned this function of Shī'ism: despite his differences with Zayd b. 'Alī, he is reported to have spoken highly of his uncle's personal qualities and respected Zayd's desire to put an end to Umayyad tyranny (although never admitting that Zayd had any right to Imāmah);[192] and Ja'far apparently was willing to declare his support for 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Mahḍ at al-Abwā' as the 'Alid political leader against the tottering Umayyad regime (although he refused to support al-Mahḍ's son as the self-proclaimed Mahdī).[193]

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Another aspect of early Shī'ism is its role as a cover for heterodox religiousity, allowing room for various currents of the ghulāt or zindīq type. This aspect is complex, and should be approached cautiously, as it challenges our conception of "Islām" itself (which has certain uterine connections with various Judaic, Christian, and perhaps Gnostic 'heresies'). How far such elements must be viewed as original factors in the formation of Imāmī Shī'ism, or as later infiltrations, is difficult to determine and partly depends on our increasing awareness of the cultural and religious background of ancient Arabia, but more especially of Mesopotamia, where Imāmī Shī'ism truly flowered. We must not forget that the first appearance of spiritually pluralistic teaching probably is to be traced back to that obscure movement of the ancient Arabs known as the Ḥanīfs. We have tried to suggest the importance of ghālī Islām for the study of Imāmī Shī'ī spirituality, for before we can speak of 'Ṣūfī Mysticism' in Islām, we have to think in terms of the ghulāt and the circles around the Ḥusaynid Imāms.

Nevertheless, after we account for these aspects of Imāmī Shī'ism, there remains an authentic core of ideas which display a profound and direct application of the Islāmic revelation, and are grounded on an original approach to the Qur'ān and to prophecy. Here, we enter the center of gravity of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's inner teaching. What distinguishes the thought of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq from other currents within Imāmī Shī'ism is their understanding of the Imām, and his knowledge and authority. The phenomenon of an

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authority more than human, exercised over succeeding generations, an authority capable of provoking unquestioning assent to doctrines however ill understood, is a phenomenon familiar to us but one which we are loath to recognize. How the Ḥusaynid Imāms came to acquire the authority over their Shī'ah that they possessed we can only explain by suggesting that they were of another clay. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's significance in the history of Muslim thought is due to his understanding of Islām as a way of life and a practical, intellectual and spiritual discipline by means of which the soul progresses towards Knowledge and towards the actualisation of its divine nature.

Indubitably, the dominant personality in the formation of Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism is Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, while the era of the three Imāms al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim represents the formative appearance of the substance of its ideas.* It appears likely that certain key ideas or motifs were introduced and incorporated under the influence of different real historical events, or the activities of some outstanding person. The precise role of these three Imāms in the projection and elaboration of Shī'ī doctrines remains to be determined, but we suggest that future work take as one of its aims the assigning of particular motifs, terms and 'pre-occupations' to such figures.[194]

We have seen that al-Ṣādiq, while stressing the notion of 'special knowledge' inherited by the Imām through al-Jafr (which combines both the notions of special designation/nass, and 'secret doctrine'), distinguishes it from the 'special Knowledge' conveyed

* These were, of course, already present with 'Alī; cf. H. J. Korn-rumpf.

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to the Imām through the Asbāb, or the 'ropes' connecting him to Heaven. Here, the Imām, as the delegated exponent of God in creation (al-Hujjah), is unfailingly buttressed by God and 'comforted' in the deepest part of his being through a spiritual visitation that provides him with the 'ilm al-hādith. The Imām thus partakes of the same gnosis or inspired knowledge (ilhām), as do the prophets.

The question of how later Shī'ī thinkers treated the issue of how the Imām received his knowledge is complicated, and will have to be explored. This issue was a great bone of contention among the different Imāmī Shī'ī groupings in the early third century, as can be glimpsed in the accounts of Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh al-Qummī (Maqālāt p. 96-99) and al-Nawbakhtī (Firaq p. 75f.) on the controversy among the Shī'ah over the succession to 'Alī al-Riḍá (d. 203), with some holding that Muḥammad b. 'Alī (al-Jawād, the ninth Imām) who was seven years old at his father's death, could not be recognized as Imām due to his extreme youth which precluded his having the knowledge necessary for an Imām to guide his community in all matters of their worldly and other-worldly life. The others who upheld his Imāmate nevertheless differed considerably over the manner by which the child-Imām received his knowledge necessary for Imāmah, with some believing that his father had taught him his knowledge before his death, while the rest denied this, falling into three main groups: 1) those who upheld that the Asbāb of the Imām (e.g. al-Malak al-Muhaddith & 'amūd al-nūr) provide him with 'ilm after he has attained

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the age of majority— apparently representing the traditionist school of Kūfah; 2) a group who opposed the traditionists' position and denied that Wahī/'revelation' continues after the Prophet, but rather held that the Imām learns his knowledge from the books inherited from his father upon his attaining the age of legal maturity (bulūgh), some among them even admitting that the Imām may exercise qiyās in his judgements because of his immunity from error ('ismah)— this group may possibly be identified with the early kalām circles around Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān; and 3) a group who held that the Imām received his 'ilm even as a child, like some previous prophets, being even more in need of the Asbāb than the prophets.[195]

We have suggested that Ja'far al-Ṣādiq addressed a variety of audiences, and that his teaching activity must be viewed from multiple perspectives. But this plural projection of his teaching is even more necessary to take into account when we contemplate his Shī'ī audience. Of those calling themselves Shī'ah during Ja'far's life and in the decades following his death, most will have been his religious (we mean 'juridical-politico') partisans, sympathizers in his moral discipline or the wider cause of 'Alid legitimism. Some, in an area where the mawālī were well-represented and where the ghulāt were active, will have received and adapted his specific teachings regarding the significance of the Imām. Very few can have interested themselves in, and achieved a grasp of, his esoteric teaching and gnostic ideology. But his authority was sufficient

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to ensure the preservation and transmission of his teachings in its principal aspects to succeeding generations, even if they were not always understood by many.[196]

The problem of the transmission of Ja'far's teaching in the century following his death demands further elucidation, and we have suggested that a study of the ashāb al-usūl promises to shed more light on this phase of early Shī'ism. This in itself may be viewed as part of a larger problem— namely, the idea of transmission of hidden knowledge central to the Shī'ī tradition stemming from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq. We know, for example, that the early Shī'ī thinkers from the circles around these Imāms (i.e. what in later school polemics were referred to as the Rawāfid) insisted that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's nass (designation as Muḥammad's successor) was established by sound multiple traditions (tawātur) which were nevertheless hidden (katama) as part of their upholding their faith.[197] This allegation, besides giving rise to a bitter polemical controversy in early Imāmī Shī'ī - Mu'tazilī jadal from the late second century on, reflects the significance attached to kitmān and the validity of hidden traditions among Imāmī Shī'ī circles.

We can get a taste of the different 'brands' of Shī'ism developing out of Ja'far's teaching by considering which of his students they venerate as his first and closest companions. For the Ithnā 'Ashariyyah, figures such as Zurārah b. A'yun and Mu'min al-Ṭāq among the speculative thinkers, or Abān b. Taghlib (d. 140), Ḥammād b. 'Īsá, Jamīl b. Darrāj and 'Abdallāh b. Miskān (all counted among

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the most reliable transmittors of legal traditions), are often considered representative of the closest and most eminent of al-Ṣādiq's disciples. More bāṭinī trends in Shī'ism (e.g. Mukhammisah and Nuṣayrī tradition) are apt to place figures such as al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī and Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī in the favored circle of intimate companions around al-Ṣādiq. Undoubtedly a scrutiny of the companions and the close associates of Ja'far would help us to comprehend much about his teaching and its preservation; here again is an area which demands further investigation.

Ja'far al-Ṣādiq provided the clay out of which his disciples molded bricks of their own understanding, each forming a distinct shape. The circumstances of their lives, where they lived, what was their cultural and religious patrimony, who they associated with, etc., determined the shape of their particular brick. How many such bricks survived, with what broken edges, crumbled fragments, until the architects of the edifice of the Ithnā 'Asharī school assembled them in a new construction? And did these architects reject some bricks whose shape could not be fitted into the walls they were building, did they break others to the 'right' size, did they introduce stones or wood alongside these bricks, what mortar did they employ?

We are only looking at one building, the Ithnā 'Ashariyyah. Yet there are others, built from the same bricks, but different in plan. Or do they use the brick which our architects rejected?

* * *

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FOOTNOTES

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FOOTNOTES

1. L. Massignon, "Zindīḳ" E.I. IV, 1228-29: "The word zindīk must have become arabicised in the mixed Arabo-Iranian society of the Mawālī Hamrā of Ḥīra and Kūfa (cf. the exiling of the Mazdakis to Ḥīra in which we can see the explanation of the Shi'i gnosticism of Kūfa in the following century)." Also see: G. Vajda, "Les Zindīqs en pays d'Islam au début de la période abbaside" RSO 17 (1937) 173-299, esp. 193-96, where Ibn Abī al-'Awjā's relations with al-Ṣādiq are treated. Early Shī'ī literature contains many accounts of al-Ṣādiq's debating with zindīqs: see al-Kulaynī, al-Usūl min al-Kāfī (Tehran, Ḥaydarī, 1374, ed. Muḥammad Akhūndī) I, 72-81; Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, al-Tawhīd (Tehran, Maktabat al-Ṣadūq, 1387) 253-54; Abū Manṣūr Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Ṭabarsī, al-Ihtijāj (Najaf, al-Nu'mān, 1386) II, 79-99.

2. Kulaynī, Usūl I, 75f.; Ibn Abī al-'Awjā' is moved by this remark to question al-Ṣādiq, whereupon he returns to Ibn al-Muqaffa' and says:

ويلك يا إبن المقفّع ما هذا ببشر و إن كان في الدنيا روحاني
يتجسّد إذا شاء ظاهراً و يتروّح إذا شاء باطناً فهو هذا ...

One of the early criterion of zandaqah was the belief that the spirit (rūh) was an immaterial creation, therefore divine.

3. Kulaynī, Usūl, quoted and transl. in: Mahmoud Ayoub, Redemptive Suffering in Islam (Mouton, the Hague, 1978) 51. See also: Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Farrūkh al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī, Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt al-Kubrā (Qumm?, Maṭba'at Shirkat Chāp Kitāb, 1380, 2nd ed., edited Mīrza Muḥsin Kuche Bāghī) 20.

4. There is some uncertainty over his year of birth, 80/699-700 being given alternatively to 83. Cf. Syed Husain Muhammad Jafri, The

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4. (cont.) Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam (Arab Background Series, London & N.Y., Longman, 1979) 284 n. 1. Both Jafri and Hodgson prefer year 80. On the whole, early Twelver tradition supports the year 83; see: Kulaynī, Usūl I 472; Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh al-Qummī, al-Maqālāt wa al-Firaq (Tehran, Ḥaydarī, 1963, ed. Jawād Mashkūr) 79; Shaykh al-Mufīd, al-Irshād (Najaf, Ḥaydariyyah, 1381) 271; al-Mas'ūdī, Ithbāt al-Wasiyyah (Najaf, Ḥaydariyyah, 1374) 178; Abū Naṣr Sahl b. 'Abdallāh al-Bukhārī, Sirr al-Silsilat al-'Alawiyyah (Najaf, Ḥaydariyyah, 1382) 33; Muḥammad b. Jarīr b. Rustam al-Ṭabarī, Dalā'il al-Imāmah (Najaf, Ḥaydariyyah, 1383) 111, who affirms the correctness of year 83 because of the testimony of Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Hamām in his Asl book that al-Ṣādiq was sixty five lunar years of age when he died. A later source written in 687 A.H., Kashf al-Ghummah fī Ma'rifat al-A'immah by Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Isá al-Irbilī (d. 692 or 693), (Qumm, Maṭba'at al-'Ilmiyyah, 1381) II, 373, decides in favor of year 80, that being the 'āmm al-juhāf or the year of the flood in Makkah (Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān, trans. M. De Slane, Paris, 1843, I, 300, and others also note this event in determining al-Ṣādiq's birth)— yet at the same time al-Irbilī quotes Ibn al-Khashshāb on this controversy, who specified that two different lines of transmission give the differing birthdates, and decided in favor of year 83.

5. For the factors of this environment relative to early Shī'ism, see: Jafri, Origins 1-26; Geo Widengren, Muhammad, the Apostle of God, and his Ascension (Uppsala, 1955); Jean-Claude Vadet, "Les Ḥanīfs" REJ 130 (1971) 165-82.

6. Shī'ī loyalty to 'Alī and his family was inseparably linked with their conception of the destiny of the Muslim community at large; see M. G. S. Hodgson, "How did the Early Shi'a become Sectarian?" JAOS 75/1 (1955) 1-13. In its widest sense, the principle of Imāmah is the common denominator for all those currents and groupings which found or looked towards one of the Hāshimites as the legitimate possessor of authority after the Prophet Muḥammad, for whatever

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6. (cont.) motive or justification. This would include the Ṭālibites, whether Ḥasanid, Ḥusaynid or Ḥanafiyyah/Hāshimiyyah, and the 'Abbāsid, as well as those Ghulāt who maintained some link, either real or imaginary, to some descendant of the Prophet and/or his representative. It also implies the full range of conceptions of such authority and leadership/guidance, from al-Riḍá min Āl Muḥammad, to al-Mahdī, al-Qā'im, wārith 'ilm al-anbiyā', or wajh Allāh fī al-ard. The Shī'ah thus envisioned the basis of Islām's leadership in quite a different way from Khārijites and from non-Shī'ī Muslims. The Shī'ah preserved in greater or lessor measure a memory of ancient Arab conceptions of the hereditary sanctity of the guardians of Bayt Allāh; see Jafri, Origins 1-26. From this perspective, all the 'Alid revolts, 'Abbāsid revolutionary activity, much of Ghālī ideology, as well as externally passive allegiance to Ahl al-Bayt may be considered within the scope of the term Imāmah. All Shī'ah are in one sense Imāmī. These observations must not blind us to the reality that the understanding of Imāmah among various currents within early Shī'ism differed widely in specific details. It is necessary to distinguish between those followers of 'Alī who emphasized the religious factor of his succession as waṣī and wārith 'ilm al-anbiyā', and those who supported his cause on other grounds, especially after he made Kūfah his capital; Jafri, Origins 97. But, quite apart from the inadvisability of imposing an alien and confusing distinction between the religious and socio-economic-politico spheres within early Shī'ism, we should note that the above observations do not preclude the plausibility of some Shī'ah understanding the authority of their Imām in terms of designation (nass) and possession of prophetic knowledge / gnosis ('Ilm), and of Imāmah as a divine institution intended for the continuing guidance of the community after the Prophet, even as early as the late first century A.H., and even if their numbers were miniscule. It is particularly instructive in this regard to compare the conceptions of Imāmah held by al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq with those of Zayd b. 'Alī and 'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Mahḍ (the father of al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah): the former two stressed the 'inspiration' of the Imām, the 'miraculous' nature

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6. (cont.) of his knowledge, the necessity for secrecy, nass and walāyah; the latter two were scornful of with-holding knowledge, were anxious to gain the approval of the Ahl al-Hadīth with their conception of 'ilm, and ignored nass. On the other hand, Kaysānī and Ghulāt conceptions shared much the same understanding of an Imām's knowledge and designation as al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq. Thus, the notion of Imāmah appears to have been restricted early on within certain circles of the Shī'ah to a more radical religious viewpoint, while the more widespread and less specific notion continued to exercise a powerful appeal. The current (as well as traditional) designation of the Ithnā 'Ashariyyah by the term Imāmiyyah normally implies a form of this more radical stance, yet can only be justifiably limited to Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism from the later half of the third century on. (See 'Abdallāh Fayyāḍ, Ta'rīkh al-Imāmiyyah wa Aslāfihim min al-Shī'ah, Beirut, al-A'lamī, 1975, p. 73-85.) Before that period, and especially during the late first centry and the whole of the second, the term "Imāmī" could be understood to include all those early Shī'ī tendencies which shared such a radical religious viewpoint, e.g. the circles around the Ḥusaynid Imāms (excluding Zayd, but not necessarily certain Zaydī exponents), various neo-Kaysānī and 'Ḥanafiyyah' circles, and most of the Ghulāt. By the middle of the third century with the canalization of "Imāmī" energies into several distinct tributaries, the crystallization of a moderate, conservative body in the Ithnā 'Ashariyyah and the stream-lining of the revolutionary Shī'ah in the Qarāmiṭah and Ismā'īliyyah, this 'primitive' meaning of the term "Imāmī" loses much of its specific raison d'etre in the way which we use it here.

It should be noted that the term 'Imāmah' itself is not as common in reports deriving from the line of the Ḥusaynid Imāms as the terms Walāyah and Wasiyyah.

7. For the general interpretation of Ahl al-Bayt, Āl al-Bayt, Āl Yasīn, see Goldziher et al., E. I.^{2} I, 257-58. The specifically Shī'ī conception of Ahl al-Kisā' who enjoy the same saving function as Noah's Ark peculiar to the Ḥusaynid Imāms is connected with the

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7. (cont.) understanding of the 'ismah of the Imām; A. S. Tritton in E.I.^{2} I, 264. The varying interpretations of who the Ahl al-Bayt included is instructive of the differing juridical and political attitudes among the early community, and their application of certain Qur'ānic references and Prophetic traditions to Muḥammad's 'Family'. Mālik b. Anas and Abū Ḥanīfah, for example, extended the term Ahl al-Bayt to include all the Banū Hāshim, while al-Shāfi'ī extended it to the Banū Muṭṭalib as well (art. "Ahl al-Bayt" E.I.^{2} I, 258). The 'Abbāsids, by their deliberately ambiguous call to al-Riḍá min Āl Muḥammad hoped to encompass the predominant Shī'ī enthusiasm for the Ahl al-Bayt, usually taken to mean the 'Alīds (whether Ḥanafiyyah, Ḥasanid or Ḥusaynid). Thus, the stress of Zayn al-Abidīn on ḥadīth al-Mubāhalah, and al-Bāqir's and al-Ṣādiq's emphasis on the ḥadīth al-thaqalayn and ḥadīth al-kisā', aimed at countering first Kaysānī, then Zaydī and 'Abbāsid claims. Cf. Kulaynī, al-Rawdah min al-Kāfī (Tehran, Maktabat al-Islāmiyyah, 1382, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Kamara'ī) I, 185-86: where al-Ṣādiq protests against the interpretation of ahl al-Basrah of the Qur'ānic verse 42:23, and defines the "kinsfolk"/ al-qurbá to whom love is due to be the ashāb al-kisā' ('Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, and Ḥusayn).

8. "Divagazioni su due rivolte alidi," A Francesco Gabrieli (Dott. Giovani Bardi, Roma, 1964) 315-50, p. 336-37. Thanks to Michael Barry for the translation from Italian.

9. If not before 'Uthmān's death, led by figures such as Abū Dharr al-Ghiffarī, 'Ammār b. Yāsir, or the notorious 'Abdallāh b. Saba' (who is said to have roused the Egyptians against 'Uthmān; see M. G. S. Hodgson, E.I.^{2} I, 51). The person of Ibn Saba' (also referred to as Ibn al-Sawdā') presents many difficulties for the question of nascent Shī'ism; it may be that certain key ideas fundamental for shī'ī spirituality were already gaining currency in his circle— e.g. Raj'ah (Muḥammad, like Jesus, will come again) & Wasiyyah (Muḥammad was khātam al-anbiyā', and 'Alī is khātam al-awsiyā'); see Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa

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9. (cont.) al-Mulūk (Leiden, Brill, 1879-1901, rpt. 1964, ed. De Goege) I, 2942 — quite apart from the issue of Bayt al-Māl. 'Abdallāh Fayyāḍ (Ta'rīkh al-Imāmiyyah 92-110) supports the hypothesis of 'Alī Wardī and Kāmil Shaybī, that Ibn Saba' is fictional, the historical person behind the legend being 'Ammār b. Yāsir (also known as Ibn al-Sawdā' & a key figure in rousing the Egyptians to rise against 'Uthmān).

10. R. Strothmann comments: "The state of our sources does not allow us to obtain a reliable insight into the history of the confluence of the various Shī'a motives. It must for example remain an open question how far the Shī'a ideas of epiphany and the intercession of the Imām are the direct continuation of the similar ideas which, according to Ibn Isḥāḳ, certain singers of primitive Islām already associated with the person of Muḥammad: i.e. the question arises how far these religious ideas of the Shī'a were within Islām before the year 11/632. Under 'Alī, however, they appear in a strongly dogmatic form." - article "Shī'a" S.E.I. (Leiden, Brill, 1961) 534-541. See also: Hans Jürgen Kornrumpf, "Untersuchungen zum Bild 'Alīs und des frühen Islams bei den Schiiten (nach dem Nahǧ al-Balāġa des Šarif ar-Raḍī)" Der Islam 45 (1969) 2-63 & 261-298, for pertinent background on this question.

11. 'Abd al-Ḥasīb Ṭaha Ḥamīda, Adab al-Shī'ah ilá al-Qarn al-Thāni al-Hijrī (Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Sa'ādah, 1388, 2nd ed.) for a basic review of the early Shī'ī poets.

12. Syed M. H. Jafri has made use of the correspondance quoted in the historical sources in his reconstruction of the early history of Shī'ism; see Origins, passim., but more particularly his Doctoral thesis, "The Early Development of Legitimist Shī'ism with special reference to the role of the Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq" (University of London, 1966), passim., which, despite its preliminary nature and controversial approach, is fuller in its treatment of details than its book-revision; his work has the advantage of both a painstaking re-assessment of the historical sources, and an adequate acquaintance

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12. (cont.) with the Ithnā ʿAsharī evidence.

13. How should we interpret, for example, the remarkable statement of al-Ṣādiq to ʿAbdallāh b. Sulaymān (of Kūfah, author of an Aṣl book; see al-Najāshī, al-Rijāl (Tehran, Muṣṭafawī, n.d.) 167), as reported by al-Kulaynī, Usūl II, 223: "Our secret (sirrunā) remained concealed (maktūm) until it came into the hands of Kaysān's boys, and they talked about it in the streets and in the villages of the Sawād."? (see also Jafri, Origins 298-99). The "secret" referred to cannot be the rights of Ḥusayn's house to the leadership of Islām, for al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī gave his life in publicizing that; rather it is the cornerstone of Ḥusaynid "Imāmī" Shīʿism, the claim to inheritance of the esoteric mysteries of religion. It would be worthwhile to compare the 'strange' religious notions of al-Mukhtār and Kaysān with the teachings of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq.

14. See Hodgson, "Ghulāt" E.I.^{2} II, 1093-95; W. Madelung, "Kaysāniyyah" E.I.^{2} IV 836-38; Widengren, Muhammad 85-95. Wadād al-Qādī ("The Development of the Term Ghulāt in Muslim Literature with special reference to the Kaysāniyyah" in Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft, Göttingen, 1976, 295-319, p. 295) cautions against translating ghulāt as "extremists"— choosing "exaggerators" instead, pointing out the Qur'ānic usage of the verb ghalā : "it has a specific significance suggested by the contexts in which it appears, and that is: the raising of the position of Jesus above human level to the point of deification, as was done by the Christians." (p. 298-99). Hodgson notes that the Ghulāt during the earliest period "offered a distinctive speculative tendency within the general Shīʿī political orientation" (E.I.^{2} II, 1094), and observes that some details of their thought "reflected pre-Islamic Arabian conceptions, for many of the early Ghulāt leaders seem to have been tribal Arabs. . . . Both the lines of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah and that of Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq were more or less willingly surrounded by Ghulāt thinkers . . ." (Ibid.).

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15. J. Van Ess, "Skepticism in Islamic Religious Thought" Al-Abhāth 21/1 (1968) 5. This remark is especially pregnant for the cultural and religious climate of Iraqi Shī'ism during al-Ṣādiq's time, where the great urban melting pot of Kūfah saw Christians and Jews, Zoroastrians and Manichaeans, Indians and 'Syrians' rub shoulders with the Arab ruling classes.

16. Henry Corbin notes of the prophetic philosophy of Shī'ism: "Elle a parmi ses prémisses la polarité de la sharī'at et de la haqīqat; elle a pour mission la persistance et la sauvegarde du sens spiritual des Révélations divines, c'est-à-dire le sens caché, ésotérique. De cette sauvegarde dépend l'existence d'un Islam spirituel." Histoire de la Philosophie Islamique (Paris, Gallimard, 1964) 17. Compare what al-Ṣādiq is reported to have said; al-'Ayyāshī, Tafsīr (Qumm, 'Ilmiyyah, 1380) I, 5: ان الله جعل ولايتنا اهل البيت قطب القرآن و قطب جميع الكتب، عليها يستدير محكم القرآن و بها نوّهت الكتب و يستبين الإيمان، و قد أمر رسول الله ص أن يقتدى بالقرآن و آل محمد، . . . For a bird's eye view of the fundamental significance of 'Holy' Book in Islām, see the contribution by Geo Widengren: "Holy Book and Holy Tradition in Islam" in Holy Book and Holy Tradition (Grand Rapids, W. B. Eerdmans, 1968; Manchester U. Press, ed. F. F. Bruce & E. G. Rupp) 210-36; as well as his Muhammad chaps 4-6.

17. Pio Filippani-Ronconi, in discussing the work Umm al-Kitāb, observes: "A problem arises when we try to trace back the successive stages of such a formation, to discover how - for instance - its elements proceeding from other older systems have been gradually co-ordinated anew by the meditative work of the leaders of the community, probably Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Ja'far al-Ṣādiq . . ."; "The Soteriological Cosmology of Central Asiatic Ismā'īlism" p. 102, in Ismā'īlī Contributions to Islamic Culture, ed. S. H. Nasr (Tehran, I.I.A.P., 1977) 101-20. For this whole strand of Imāmī Shī'ism see the important work of Heinz Halm, Kosmologie und Heilslehre der Frühen Ismā'īliya (Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1978), and his article, "Das 'Buch der Schatten' Die Mufaḍḍal-Tradition der Ġulāt und die Ursprünge des

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17. (cont.) Nuṣairiertums" Der Islam 55/2 (1978) 219-66. Our study will not attempt to treat this aspect of al-Ṣādiq's legacy, nor the equally important role he bears for the Ṣūfī tradition, as well as for Hikmah teaching (Medicine, Alchemy, Occult Arts) in Islām.

18. It is possible that al-Ṣādiq maintained a house in Makkah as well. al-Azraqī, Akhbār Makkah (Makkah, Maṭābi' Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1375) II, 93, 260, & 296.

19. Al-Ṣādiq was the first among the Ahl al-Bayt who combined descent from both Abū Bakr and 'Alī. His mother Umm Farwah was the daughter of Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, and her mother was Asmā' bint 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr; thus Umm Farwah was the great-granddaughter of Abū Bakr on both her father's and mother's sides (Jafri, Origins 259). Al-Ṣādiq is reported to have taken pride in his maternal ancestry, remarking that "Abū Bakr bore me twice" (Abū 'Umar Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Andalusī, Tajrīd al-Tamhīd fī al-Muwatta'i min al-Ma'ānī wa al-Asānīd, Cairo, Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1350, p. 24). It should be remembered that the family of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr was closely associated with 'Alīd interests early on, Muḥammad being designated as the governor of Egypt by 'Alī before the battle of the Camel.

20. al-Ṭabarī, Dalā'il al-Imāmah 111; Mas'ūdī, Ithbāt 178-84; Irbilī, Kashf al-Ghummah II, 373. On al-Ṣādiq, see: Hodgson, E.I.^{2} II, 374-75; F. Sezgin, G.A.S. I, 528-29; Julius Ruska, Arabische Alchemisten II: Ğa'far alSādiq, Der Sechste Imām (Heidelberg, 1924) 7-23; Muḥammad Abū Zahrah, al-Imām al-Sādiq (Cairo, Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1964); Jafri, "Early Development of Legitimist Shī'ism" chaps. 4 & 5, and Origins 259-88; for the principle references to the sources. Ithnā 'Asharī biographies of al-Ṣādiq exhibit more hagiographical features yet contain many pieces of historical information at the same time; see e.g. Ṭabarī, Dalā'il 111-45; Mas'ūdī, Ithbāt 178-84; al-Kashshī, Ikhtiyār Ma'rifat al-Rijāl (Mashhad, U. of Mashhad, 1348; ed. Ḥasan al-Muṣṭafawī) passim. We should note in connection with

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20. (cont.) the upbringing of al-Ṣādiq the stress in the Shī'ī sources on the unique pattern of rearing and preparing for active life of the Imāms - 'alá minhāj abā'ihi - a pattern still practised today among some Sayyid families; see William Foster, "The Family of Hashim" Contemporary Review, London, May 1960, 270.

21. After their success the 'Abbāsids pushed the rest of the Shī'ah, on whose strength they rose to power, into the role of an opposition; S. Moscati, "Per Una Storia Dell' Antica Šī'a" RSO 1954, 251. Yet it was specifically the Ḥasanid branch of the 'Alids which proposed to challenge them directly, while the Ḥusaynids did not do so. The relations between these two great branches of 'Alids is instructive for the appreciation of the different motives and ideologies among early Shī'ites; see the articles in E.I. III, 656-66, F. Buhl, "Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh"; E.I.^{2} III 984, L. V. Vaglieri, "Ibrahīm b. 'Abdallāh"; & E.I.^{2} I, 45, K. V. Zetterstéen, "'Abdallāh b. al-Ḥasan"; as well as the valuable treatment by C. Van Arendonk, Les Débuts de l'Imāmat Zaidite au Yemen (Leiden, Brill, 1960) 1-106. Also see the remarks by al-Bāqir about the relations between his line and the Ḥasanids: Kulaynī, Rawdah I, 160. With the failure of the Ḥasanids, the revolt of al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah ending in disaster, the sympathy for the Ḥusaynid Imāms swelled, and al-Ṣādiq's aloofness from the revolutionary activities of his cousins stood him in good stead with al-Manṣūr; L. V. Vaglieri, "Divagazioni" 346-47. It is probable, therefore, that al-Manṣūr, in his paranoia over al-Ṣādiq's prestige, actually helped foster the growth of the Imāmī Shī'ī movement in Iraq by bringing him there a number of times. Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-Muẓaffarī, a contemporary Shī'ī savant, makes this point and adds that many of the aḥādīth taken from al-Ṣādiq were received by his Shī'ah during the Imām's stays in Iraq; al-Imām al-Ṣādiq (Najaf, Ḥaydariyyah, 1369) I, 138. The whole question of al-Ṣādiq's relations with al-Manṣūr demand a fresh reconsideration; see e.g. Abū Zahrah, al-Imām al-Ṣādiq 43-47; & Farouk Omar, "Some Aspects of the 'Abbāsid-Ḥusaynid Relations During the Early 'Abbāsid Period" Arabica 22/2 (1975) 170-79.

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22. Kūfah was the center of the Ḥusaynid ʿAlids base of support in Iraq, being the site of important circles of al-Bāqir's companions from the early years of the second century, who evidently saw in him both an authoritative guide in juridical matters and/or an 'exaggerated' image of the Imām; see the comments of the Umayyad Caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik on al-Bāqir; Ṭabarsī, al-Iḥtijāj, II, 57:

... يا أمير المؤمنين هذا محمد بن عليّ بن الحسين ، فقال له هشام: المفتون به اهل العراق؟ قال نعم.

and Hishām's answer to Nāfiʿ mawlá ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb while ct. Ḥajj (Kulaynī, Rawḍah I 228-29):

... فقال نافع: يا أمير المؤمنين مَن هذا الذي قد تداك عليه الناس؟ فقال: هذا نبيّ اهل الكوفة هذا محمد بن عليّ ...

23. Probably as early as the beginning of al-Saffāḥ's reign in 132; see al-Muzaffarī, op. cit., 139-44, where some of the principal references are given. Jaʿfar also saw to the construction of a cenotaph in the cave where ʿAlī's body lay. It wasn't until ca. 280-292 that a dome was raised on the site of Gharyy by the Zaydī Dāʿī of Daylam, Muḥammad b. Zayd, and this dome became a pilgrimage center under the Buwayhids, while the Shīʿī families of savants in Kūfah more and more came to accept it as ʿAlī's tomb. "Perhaps then," E. Honigmann notes, "the sanctuary of al-Nadjaf is not the real burial-place but a tomb held in reverence in the pre-Islamic period, especially as the graves of Adam and Noah were also shown there . . ." (S.E.I. 430). The legend of ʿAlī's burial place is connected in Shīʿism with the resting place of Noah's Ark and the coffin of Adam; see e.g. Ithbāt 17, 28, & 152-53.

24. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn (Cairo, al-Ḥalabī, 1368) 256, maintains that the laqab "al-Ṣādiq" was given to Jaʿfar by al-Manṣūr because of the former's veracious prediction of the Khalīfah's success at al-Abwāʾ. For some well known exchanges between the two men, see e.g. Mufīd, Irshād, 272-73; al-Yaʿqūbī, Taʾrīkh (Najaf, al-Ghurī, 1358) II, 105 & 117; Kulaynī, Rawḍah I, 58-59

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24. (cont.) (for a curious story of the two men exchanging confidences in the midst of a parade for al-Manṣūr) & II, 205; and Ṣaffār, Basā'ir 246, where al-Manṣūr reportedly said of Ja'far:

أنّه ليس من أهل البيت نبوة إلّا وفيهم محدّث، وإنّ جعفر بن محمد محدّثنا اليوم . . .

25. Kulaynī, Usūl I, 310; Mas'ūdī, Ithbāt 190; Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah al-Ṭūsī, Kitāb al-Ghaybah (Najaf, Maktabat al-Ṣādiq, 1385) 119. There are variances in the versions of Ja'far's will (described by some as his exoteric inheritance: wasiyyatahu al-zāhirah), e.g. whether four or five persons were named, or whether it included his wife Ḥamīdah rather than his daughter Fāṭimah. For the 'exoteric inheritance' which al-Bāqir wrote for his son Ja'far, see Ithbāt 178; & Kulaynī, Usūl I, 307.

26. Ithbāt 190.

27. Bernard Lewis, The Origins of Ismā'īlism (Cambridge, 1940) 32.

28. A number of recent studies have struggled with the complex phenomena of the early history of Shī'ism with varying degrees of success. See e.g. the articles of W. M. Watt: "Shī'ism under the Umayyads" JRAS (1960) 158-72; "The Rāfiḍites: a preliminary study" Oriens 16 (1963) 110-21; "The Reappraisal of Abbasid Shī'ism" in Arabic and Islamic Studies in honor of H. A. R. Gibb (Harvard U. Press, 1965, ed. G. Makdisi) 638-54; "The Muslim Yearning for a Saviour: Aspects of Early 'Abbasid Shī'ism" in The Saviour God (Manchester U. Press, 1963, ed. S. G. F. Brandon) 191-204; and his The Formative Period of Islamic Thought (Edinburgh, 1973) chap. II. Also see W. Rajkowski, "Early Shī'ism in Iraq" (PhD. dissertation, U. of London, 1955); and the dissertation of Jafri, "Legitimist Shī'ism", referred to above, n. 12. Jafri's recent book, Origins, is an important contribution, yet marred by several forced projections. Other studies include: Hodgson, "Early Shī'a" JAOS 75 (1955) 1-13; W. Ivanow, "Early Shī'ite Movements" JBBRAS 17 (1941) 1-23; H. Laoust, Les Schismes Dans L'Islam

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28. (cont.) (Paris, Payot, 1977, 2nd ed.) 25-60; Arendonk, op. cit., 1-106; R. Strothman, S.E.I. art. "Shī'a" 534-41; Nabīlah 'Abd al-Mun'im Da'ūd, Nash'at al-Shī'at al-Imāmiyyah (Baghdad, al-Irshād, 1968); and especially the contributions of S. Moscati, RSO 29 (1954) 251-67 & his "Il testamento di Abū Hāšim" RSO 27 (1952) 28-46; and of L. V. Vaglieri, "Divagazioni" (see above, n. 8). The works of I. Friedländer, "The Heterodoxies of the Shi'a" JAOS 28 (1907) 1-80 (I) & 29 (1908) 1-183 (II), as well as E. Blochet, Le Messianiame dans l'hétérodoxie Musulmane (Paris, 1903), are still of value if used cautiously. Finally there are a series of weighty articles by Wilfred Madelung in Der Islam and E.I.^{2}.

29. In particular, the distinction between 'activist' and 'quietist' religio-political attitudes among the early Shī'ah can lead to an obscuring of the situation. W. M. Watt, while rightly insisting that Shī'ism "is not simply a political movement, but arises, at least in part, from a genuine religious urge" ("Muslim Yearning" 192), holds that the 'religious' aspect dominated Shī'ism in the Umayyad period during the "peaceful half century from the defeat of al-Mukhtār in 687 until 737, when the quietists were predominant in the Shī'ite movement" (Ibid., 193). Watt denies that the Ḥusaynids in the early 'Abbāsid period had any organized following, with the possible exception of al-Ṣādiq (Ibid., 194-96), and that the Ithnā 'Asharī Imāms were recognized as such during their lifetimes. Watt maintains that:

> There was no recognized party of followers and no underground revolutionary activities with the aim of making them caliphs. Insofar as this is the case, it follows that the Imami form of Shī'ism, and probably also the Ismā'īlī, did not receive the definite character familiar to scholars until shortly before 900. ("Reappraisal" 639)

We caution that the possibility of an organized 'Alid Ḥusaynid 'movement' from the time of Ja'far's grandfather is not of necessity contradicted by the fact that their claims were not publicly or violently asserted, or that their 'movement' had no political, revolutionary expression. Granting that their close followers who

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29. (cont.) swore allegiance to them as Imām may have been few in number, the apparent quietism of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, for example, could equally well be viewed as springing from their 'hidden' activity as initiators into the secrets of the Prophet's Family as much as from any caution dictated by purely political ambitions. Quite apart from the real motive behind their stance of taqiyyah (see below, p. 32), it is also possible that Ja'far's line exhibited a repugnance for rabble-rousing with demagogical promises (Vaglieri, "Divagazioni" 348). Watt himself raises the question of an alternative to the activist-quietist polarity: ". . . the question whether there were moderates who were neither messianists nor activists, yet recognized a series of imams, of whom the latest was alive and not hidden. Common sense suggests that, under the Abbasids, it must have been impossible to recognize a living man as imām, unless within an underground activist movement. Apart from this, it might be possible to recognize a man as head of the 'Alids (or the Ḥusainid branch of the 'Alid family), but this is far from what is usually meant by recognizing an imam" ("Reappraisal" 651-52). Yet here again Watt makes Ja'far an exception when he admits the possibility of "some genuine following based on personal contacts" (Ibid., 653). We are convinced that only a sure grasp of al-Bāqir's and al-Ṣādiq's notion of what it means to know the Imām (in other words, an appreciation of their particular conception of 'Ilm) allows us to view this issue from a more productive perspective.

30. See S. Moscati, "Antica Šī'a" 252-55; & W. Madelung, "Bemerkungen zur imamitischen Firaq-Literature" Der Islam 43 (1967) 37-52, for a discussion of the problems of the heresiographical sources. Moscati points out that the historians are often more trustworthy since Firaq literature is polemical in aim and employs artificial classifications of sects. W. M. Watt notes in this regard that "any modern attempt to describe the early development of Islamic thought must be based primarily on reports about particular individuals and not on general accounts of sects" ("The Significance of the Sects in Islamic theology" in Acts of IVth Congress of Arabic and Islamic

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30. (cont.) Studies, Leiden, Brill, 1971, 169-73, p. 173). The oldest extant heresiographical work, by the Mu'tazalī al-Nāshi' al-akbar (d. 293), does not yet employ the names Ismā'Iliyyah and Imāmiyyah; ". . . instead of this he mentions the ashāb al-nasaq "adherents of the succession (of the Imāms)" which name, however, comprises the Imāmīya of the later heresiographers and the Kaysānīya who also believed in a continuous series of Imāms"; J. Van Ess, "A new source of Muslim heresiography" in Proceedings of the 27th Int. Cong. of Orientalists (Wiesbaden, Harrossowitz, 1971) 269-70; text ed. and published by J. Van Ess: Frühe Mu'tazilitische Häresiographe (Beirut, Beiruter Texte und Studien 11, 1971), 22f. - text of Masā'il al-Imāmah.

31. E.g., al-Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh III 2509-10; Ṭabarī also relates various pieces of information about members of Ahl al-Bayt from al-Ṣādiq, e.g., I 3468, II 366, 1698-1700, III 2481-82, 2495, as well as some descriptions of exchanges between al-Manṣūr and al-Ṣādiq: III 225, 257. Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh III, 115-17, however, does provide eleven maxims of al-Ṣādiq depicting him as a man of deep religious knowledge and spiritual attainment; he states that it was the habit of scholars who related anything from Ja'far to say: "the Learned One (al-'Ālim) informed us." On al-Ya'qūbī's Shī'ī connections, see W. G. Millward, "Al-Ya'qūbī's Sources and the Question of Shī'a Partiality" Abr-Nahrain 12 (1971-72) 47-74; & Y. Marquet, "Le Šī'isme au IXe Siècle à travers l'histoire de Ya'qūbī" Arabica 19 (1972) 1-45, 101-138. Mas'ūdī, in his Murūj al-Dhahab (Cairo, al-Tijāriyyah, 1377) I, 32-33, gives an important tradition from 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib via al-Ṣādiq on world creation and Muḥammadan Light; see Tarif Khalidi, Islamic Historiography (Albany, State U. of New York Press, 1975) 57-60. Mas'ūdī develops this vision of historiosophy in his Ithbāt; see C. Pellat, "Mas'ūdī et l'Imāmisme" in Le Shī'isme Imāmite (Paris, 1970, ed. T. Fahd) 69-90. In general, Muslim historical accounts breath a hagiographical air.

32. W. Madelung, "Bemerkungen zur imamitischen Firaq-Literatur", has

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32. (cont.) identified the work of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 179), Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Nāss fī al-Imāmah, as the major source for the first parts of the Firaq works of Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh al-Qummī and al-Nawbakhtī.

33. E.g., Ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī, 'Uyūn al-Akhbār (Cairo, Wizārat al-Thaqāfah, 1963) II, 145; al-Azraqī, Akhbār Makkah I, 32-34; 'Abdallāh b. al-Mubārak, Kitāb al-Zuhd wa al-Raqā'iq (Mālīkā'ūn, 1966, ed. al-A'ẓamī) # 983 & 984 (cf. also # 744 & 883). A search of the 'Six Books', Mālik's al-Muwatta', Shāfi'ī's Risālah, and the K. al-Āthār of Abū Yūsuf and the Āthār of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, will not be unrewarding. Early Zuhd collections contain some arresting Imāmī-like traditions, and al-Ṣādiq is often quoted in Adab writings.

34. Moscati, "Antica Šī'a" 262-65. The famous Italian scholar emphasises that imposing any chronological classification of major historical-religious tendencies for the most ancient phase of Shī'ism should be avoided. Moscati maintains that the major themes of 'religious'/ heterodox Shī'ism (Mahdī, ghaybah, raj'ah; divinization of Imām; reincarnation; allegorization and non-observance of religious precepts; emanationist conceptions of creation ...) revolve around the participation of the Mawālī in early Shī'ī ideas. He quite rightly notes the significance of Jewish / Christian / Persian / Gnostic factors coming together in a complex inheritance of religious ideas in the Mesopotamian region, with Kūfah being the precise locale for the origin of this type of Shī'ism in its historical manifestations (Ibid., 266-67). Whether his contention that the formation of 'religious' Shī'ism came from outside, being grafted onto the main trunk of Islām, is a simplification of a very complex situation which included some some native Arab-Muslim elements remains to be determined. Compare Strothmann's assessment (S.E.I. 537): "The origin of the Shī'a motives is not explained if we again emphasize the fact, in itself illuminating . . ., that Gnostic, Neo-Platonic, Manichaean and old Iranian ideas have intermingled. But in the present state of our knowledge, we cannot go far beyond this statement, as the literary doors of approach to the details have not yet been opened."

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35. One cannot explicate these ideas 'in depth' without bringing the 'lateral' relations to light also. For example, it is impossible today to understand Islām's source without placing it in the framework of the culture of the ancient and post-Biblical Middle East, for it repeats some of the fundamental themes of that culture (whether by reference to common sources or in virtue of the parallelism of material and cultural conditions) at the same time that it modifies some others profoundly. On the one hand, it remains true to state that no feature of the notion of 'Prophet' nor 'Imām' was invented by Muḥammad or by the first generations of Muslims. On the surface, everything of the concept of prophecy was 'borrowed', but in reality there was a conversion and modification of concepts and images through their convergent application to Muḥammad and his descendants. The notion of the Adamic/Prophetic Man, whatever its beginnings, was enriched, first in esoteric Jewish thought, then in the figure of Christ, in the complex phenomenon termed 'Gnosticism', and finally in the experience of Muḥammad, by so many new elements that it becomes difficult to see simultaneously all its implications. On the other hand, one can very well give an account of the enrichment that those fundamental images received from their being remolded by Muḥammad in the Qur'ān and from their convergence in his own person and in the persons of the members of his Family. What has been said may equally be posited of the figure of Iblīs in its Qur'ānic and early Islāmic formulations. Such notions have always constituted central foci of meditation for the leading minds and hearts in the Islāmic tradition.

36. G. Levi Della Vida, "al-Mukhtār" E.I. III, 715-17; A. A. Dixon, "Kaysān" E.I.^{2} IV, 836; W. Madelung, "Kaysāniyya" E.I.^{2} IV, 836-38; Laoust, Schismes 30-32; Friedländer, II 35-39; and esp. the fine work of the Lebanese scholar Wadād al-Qādī, al-Kaysāniyyah fī al-Adab wa al-Ta'rīkh (Beirut, 1974). Note that al-Mukhtār secured the co-operation of Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar in his revolt after reputedly showing him a letter from Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah in which al-Mukhtār was introduced as his amīn and wazīr (Della Vida, 716) & that Abū 'Amra

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36. (cont.) Kaysān, chief of the guard and leader of the mawālī under al-Mukhtār, "asserted that the angel Djibrīl transmitted divine revelations to al-Mukhtār, who could hear, but not see, him" (Madelung, 836). This is oddly reminiscent of the doctrine of the Imām as Muhaddath ('he who is addressed in his innermost consciousness by God and/or by the angel of revelation') taught by al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (see below, p. 38), and attributed by them to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The Kaysāniyyah apparently were the first to evolve the idea of the Mahdī, and from a particular group among them (the Ghulāt al-Kaysāniyyah, i.e. the remnants of the old Saba'iyyah living in Kūfah during the days of al-Mukhtār; see al-Qāḍī, al-Kaysāniyyah 120-21, & "Term Ghulāt" 300) derived a number of early ghuluww movements.

37. On Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, see Fr. Buhl, "Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah" E.I. III, 671. Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah acted with great restraint among the conflicting interests of Mukhtār's claims, the ambitions of 'Abdallāh b. al-Zubayr, and the Umayyad 'Abd al-Malik, maintaining his independence and political neutrality (from purely religious motives, according to the traditions).

It is instructive to note the image of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah presented in early Imāmī reports from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, who spoke of him with great respect, and related traditions on his authority; see e.g., Shaykh al-Ṣadūq, al-Tawhīd (Tehran, Maktabat al-Ṣadūq, 1387) 90, & 128, where al-Ṣādiq relates that al-Bāqir said of him: "he was a man of unflinching self-possession (rābit al-ja'sh)"; Ibid., 165 & 457 (for reports related directly from Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah on isnāds not including Ḥusaynid Imāms, yet supporting their teachings); and Mufīd, al-Ikhtisās (Tehran, Ḥaydarī, 1379, ed. 'Alī Akbar al-Ghiffārī) 229, for a fragment of the famous wasiyyah of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah. We also take note of a number of interesting reports from the Imāms 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn 'Zayn al-'Ābidīn', al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq preserved by al-Ṣaffār (Baṣā'ir 160, 178, 184) to the effect that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah derived his knowledge (or his share of the wasiyyah of 'Alī) from Zayn al-'Ābidīn who had certain writings of 'Alī copied out for the benefit of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah. Thus al-Bāqir

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37. (cont.) * states (Basā'ir 184):

. . . انّ محمد بن عليّ كان يحتاج إلى بعض الوصيّة أو إلى الشيء مرّا في الوصيّة فيبعث إلى عليّ بن الحسين عم فينسخه له ولكن لا أحبّ أن أزرى إبن عم لي.

Are we to see in this a reflection of the Ḥusaynid Imāms' refutation of Kaysānī claims, or even their attempts to win for themselves some of the followers of Ḥanafiyyah Shī'ism (cf. Jafri, "Legitimist Shī'ism" 167-84)? Compare the statement of al-Ṣādiq on the Kaysāniyyah quoted above, n. 13.

38. Madelung, "Kaysāniyya" 838; Laoust, Schismes 32, observes: "Une autre notion aussi commencait à faire son chemin: celle du missionaire (dā'ī), tour à tour doctrinaire, orateur, agent de renseignements et agitateur politique, qui allait si souvent, par la suite, être l'artisan, parfois indiscipliné, du succès des sectes chiites." The Docetic metaphysic of Kaysānī messianism made an explosive combination with Shī'ī legitimism, insuring the widespread and permanent appeal of chiliastic political expectations in Islām. See al-Kashshī, Rijāl 314-16, for an interesting exchange between Ḥayyān al-Sarrāj and al-Ṣādiq over whether Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah was really dead or still living, with al-Ṣādiq insisting that his father al-Bāqir had personally assisted with his funeral preparations, and Ḥayyān retorting that: "shubbihu 'alá ābīka" and likening Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah to Christ. (Ḥayyān al-Sarrāj later served as wakīl for Mūsá al-Kāẓim in Kūfah, and was one of the leading founders of the Mūsawī Wāqifiyyah; Kashshī, Rijāl 459 #871).

39. B. Lewis, Origins of Ismā'īlism 79, raises the possibility (first put forward by Casanova) of whether the Qarāmiṭah of Baḥrayn were originally a branch of Ḥanafiyyah Shī'ism; this question was also discussed by Blochet, Messianisme 33-35 & 39-40, 63-65, who expanded the suggestions of S. de Sacy. The early success of the Qarāmiṭah in the Sawād shortly after the death of the eleventh Imām in 260 (although they must have been organized before that date; see Madelung,

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39. (cont.) "Karmaṭī" E.I.^{2} IV, 660-65, p. 660) probably depended on the widespread acclimitization of Shī'ī chiliastic ideas and expectations in that area reaching back to Abū 'Amra himself. There is also the problem of the role assigned to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah as one of the seven Imāms in the K. al-Khamsīn of Jābir b. Ḥayyān (Paul Kraus, ed., Mukhtār Rasā'il Jābir b. Hayyān, Paris/Cairo, 1935, 492-99), for the school of Jābir is intimately associated with early Qarmaṭī and Mukhammisah circles.

40. Arendonk, Les Débuts 13. Jafri, Origins 232, has pointed out that "it was Mukhtār who first mobilized the Persian mawālī in active participation, thus giving the Shī'ī movement a wider appeal," and he contrasts this with the Tawwābūn movement (61-65 A.H.) which was completely Arab: the three thousand men who fought at 'Ayn al-Wardah represented not only Southern, but Northern and Central Arabia. We thus have a precise case-in-point for the contrast between a purely Arab, legitimist, Imāmī Shī'ism and a more diverse and radically innovative Imāmī Shī'ism; these must not be seen as 'phases' in some evolution, but as mutually existing and interacting tendencies. Al-Mukhtār, whose revolt was catapulted into success by the passions generated by the 'Penitents' (Tawwābūn) is reported to have held a low opinion of the fighting ability of the hamrā' (the Persian mawālī); Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Azdī al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil fī al-Lughah wa al-Adab wa al-Nahw wa al-Tasrīf (Cairo, al-Ḥalabī, 1356-62/1937-43, ed. Zakī Mubārak) II, 405-6: al-Mukhtār says to Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar, the general of his army:

إنَّ عامّة جُندك هولاء الحَمْرَاء (يعنى المَوالي) و إن الحرب إن ضَرَّستهم هربوا، فأحمل العرب على متون الخيل و أرجل الحمراء أمامهم.

41. Jafri, "Legitimist Shī'ism" 166-82, provides a good discussion of Zayn al-'Ābidīn's position vis-a-vis Ḥanafiyyah Shī'ism, and his eminent position among Madinese traditionists. Jafri's opinion that Zayn al-'Ābidīn introduced Ḥadīth al-Mubāhlah to counteract Kaysānī

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41. (cont.) ideas by limiting Ahl al-Bayt to the progeny of Fāṭimah is worth considering seriously (Ibid., 171-73).

42. Moscati, "Testamento"; & his art. "Abū Hāshim" E.I.^{2} I, 124-25, where he says of the tradition that Muḥammad b. 'Alī (the 'Abbāsid) fell heir to Abū Hāshim's rights: "This tradition has been generally taken as an invention of the philo-'Abbāsid party. Nevertheless, stripped of incongruences and superstructures, it may well contain a kernal of truth, especially as, in effect, immediately after the death of Abū Hāshim the 'Abbāsids came out of the shadows and the 'Irāḳī Shī'a went into action in obediance to their orders."

43. There is some uncertainty over al-Bāqir's death date; Hodgson prefers the year 119/737 (E.I.^{2} "Dja'far al-Ṣādiḳ", II 374) and gives 114/733 as an alternative, while Jafri accepts the year 117/735 (Origins 255, following Ya'qūbī & Dhahabī). We give 115/734 out of deference to Ithnā 'Asharī consensus, which holds that Ja'far was thirty-two years of age at the death of his father.

44. Zayd b. 'Alī was the half-brother of Muḥammad al-Bāqir, his mother being a slave woman from Sind, while al-Bāqir's mother was Fāṭimah bint al-Ḥasan, making him a descendant of the Prophet on both his father's and mother's sides. See Ya'qūbī, Ta'rīkh II, 320. As Zayd was born in 80 A.H., he would have been Ja'far's peer in age as well.

45. On Bayān and his teaching, see: Hodgson, E.I.^{2} I, 1116-17; Friedländer, II 104; & William F. Tucker, "Bayān b. Sam'ān and the Bayāniyya: Shī'ite Extremists of Umayyad Iraq" MW 65/4 (1975) 241-53. Hodgson speculates that the uprising of Bayān and al-Mughīrah may have been connected with the 'Abbāsids who inherited Abū Hāshim's party in Kūfah in the name of the Family of the Prophet. Before claiming prophetic status for himself (i.e. 'apostle-ship') Bayān had preached the Imāmah of Abū Hāshim and his raj'ah as the Mahdī. He also seems to have espoused al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah as the Mahdī, perhaps after his estrangement from al-Bāqir's circle (see below, n. 60). Besides his

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45. (cont.) reputation for magic and knowing the Greatest Name of God, Bayān apparently taught that Adam possessed a 'Divine Particle' which made him worthy of angelic adoration, that there were seven prophets between Adam and Muḥammad, ascribed to some type of anthropomorphism, and held that there are two Gods — one in Heaven and another on Earth. His belief in a transmission of prophetic power, and ascribing to the Imāms prophecy through an indwelling particle of divine light are particularly noteworthy for the history of later Shī'ism. It has been customary for students to draw parallels with his teaching (the little we know of it) and Gnostic- Manichaean- Judaic- Persian religions.

46. On al-Mughīrah and his teaching, see: Friedländer, II 79-87; W. F. Tucker, "Rebels and Gnostics: al-Muǧīra Ibn Sa'īd and the Muǧīriyya" Arabica 22/1 (1975) 33-47; & the sources cited in Moscati, "Antica Šī'a" 260 n. 2, as well as the creation story ascribed to him in al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmīyyīn (Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1963, 2nd ed.) 7-8. Laoust (Schismes 66 n. 11) mentions that Jābir al-Ju'fī (d. 128 or 132) became one of the leaders of the Mughīriyyah; al-Ju'fī was one of the most intimate disciples of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq. Al-Mughīrah's preaching is variously said to have first advocated al-Bāqir as the Mahdī, and only after al-Bāqir's death or disapproval, to have promoted the Mahdī-ship of the Ḥasanid al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah. Even after al-Mughīrah's execution, his followers remained faithful to al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah. Whether "his references to al-Bāqir and al-Nafs al-Zakiyya may have been attempts to legitimize his own position by establishing links with 'Alids" (Tucker, "Rebels and Gnostics" 39), it raises the question whether 'Abdallāh al-Mahḍ was already at this early date (i.e. before 119) putting his son Muḥammad forward as the Mahdī (see below, n. 60). Tucker maintains that: "for al-Mughīra, as for most of the other heresiarchs, claims to support the 'Alids were primarily attempts to legitimize their own political activities and ideologies" (Ibid., 47). Apparently al-Mughīrah, "après avoir reconnu M. al-Bāqir, se présenta lui-même comme l'imām dūment désignée par ce dernier dans l'attente du mahdī

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46. (cont.) et finit par revendiquer pour lui-meme la qualité de prophète (nubūwa)" (Laoust, Schismes 66 n. 11). Al-Mughīrah's followers (as Bayān's as well) included both Mawālī and Arabs (drawn from the main S. Arabian tribes settled in Kūfah, e.g., Bajīlah, Kinda & 'Ijl— i.e. the same tribes involved in Mukhtār's revolt, as in the later Manṣūriyyah). Tucker suggests that the origins of religious elitism among ghulāt can be assigned to al-Mughīrah, since his followers "believed themselves to be God's chosen whose duty it was to eliminate the 'sons of darkness'" ("Rebels and Gnostics" 36). Al-Mughīrah, like Bayān, had a reputation for magical powers, claimed to possess the Greatest Name of God, and held certain anthropomorphic views (God as Man of Light / crowned with Light). Al-Mughīrah gave a prominent place to the mystical nature of the alphabet, which featured in his elaborate theory of world creation and his anthroposophy (the 'Greatest Name' became a Crown of Light as God's first creative act). He asserted that God created both good and evil men, and espoused the characteristic bātinī notion of Tafwīd (God created Muhammad and 'Alī first, then 'delegated'/'entrusted' fawwad the creation of the rest of the world to them; see Friedländer II 90-92). The description found in al-Ash'arī of his creation myth is worth our attention: ". . . two seas were formed from His sweat, one salt and dark and the other sweet and bright. He then gazed into the sea and saw His shadow (zillahu). . . . He then created all creation from the two seas. He created the unbelievers from the salt dark sea and the faithful from the bright sweet sea. . ." Tucker (p. 42-43), expanding on Friedländer's comments (II 80 & 84), points to parallels in Mandaean, Gnostic, and ultimately ancient Sumerian teachings vis-a-vis the motif of the Two Waters. Ithnā 'Asharī sources clearly show that the motif of the Two Waters and the two types of men constituted one of the key teachings of al-Bāqir; see e.g., al-Ṣadūq, 'Ilal al-Sharā'i' (Najaf, Ḥaydariyyah, 1382/1963) 104f. The same may be said for Tafwīd, a notion which enshrines the gnostic discrimination between the unoriginated inconceivable Godhead and the Word/Logos emanating from Him as the Demiurge. The Mughīriyyah stand both within and without what later came to be defined as Ithnā 'Asharī

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46. (cont.) Shī'ism, in their ideology: hulūl, nubūwah, ibāhah; & nass, wasiyyah, 'ismah, rafd and taqiyyah. For the attitude of al-Ṣādiq towards al-Mughīrah, see below n. 150.

47. For Zayd's revolt, see e.g., Arendonk, Débuts 28-43, 307; Laoust, Schismes 34-5; Strothman, E.I. IV, 1260-61. Zaydī agitation during the early 'Abbāsid period supported the revolts of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh, of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī 'Ṣāḥib Fakhkh' (massacred with three hundred followers near Makkah in 169-170 by al-Hādī's troops, and considered by the Shī'ah as the worst disaster since Karbalā'), and of Yaḥyá b. 'Abdallāh in 175 in Daylam. The Zaydī movement was accompanied by a literary activity which (with the works attributed to Zayd b. 'Alī) played its part in the naissance of the early Islāmic disciplines: tafsīr, fiqh, sīrah, & history. Zayd had participated in the rivalry between the Ḥusaynids and the Ḥasanids over the administration of the sadaqah from the estates left by the Prophet, and conducted as a skilled advocate for the Ḥusaynids long suits against the Ḥasanids before the Umayyad Hishām. (This was an old bone of contention, for Zayn al-'Ābidīn had contested the office of sadaqah from al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannah— see Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh II, 1671 & 1673, & Arendonk, 28 n. 6; al-Bāqir resumed this quarrel with the Ḥasanids after Zayn al-'Ābidīn's death). Zayd and al-Bāqir were strong rivals after their father's death, and many of the Shī'ah preferred Zayd because of his bold attitude (see Jafri, "Legitimist Shī'ism" 196-202). The two brothers differed not only over the hotly debated issue of the legitimacy of the caliphate of the Shaykhān, but also in matters of religious practice, with Zayd inclined to accept the practice of the Ashāb al-Ḥadīth of Kūfah and Baṣrah while al-Bāqir established the beginnings of Madhhab Ahl al-Bayt, deriving his traditions from 'Alī and his supporters like Jābir b. 'Abdallāh al-Ansārī. Thus al-Bāqir forbade nabīdh and permicted mut'ah marriage, in contrast to the Iraqi jurists whose rulings were mainly based on those of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

Until al-Bāqir, the Shī'ites followed the same principles in religious practice as the traditionists of Madīnah, Kūfah and

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47. (cont.) elsewhere; al-Ṣādiq underlines his father's role in this respect (Kulaynī, Usūl II, 20): و كانت الشيعة قبل أن يكون أبو جعفر و هم لا يعرفون مناسك حجّهم وحلالهم وحرامهم حتى كان ابو جعفر ففتح لهم وبيّن لهم مناسك حجّهم ... حتى صار الناس يحتاجون إليهم من بعد ما كانوا يحتاجون الى الناس...

or again, in rebuttal of Ḥasanid claims to Imāmah, al-Ṣādiq said (Basā'ir 179): ... ما كانت بنو هاشم يحسنون يحجّون و لا يصلّون حتى علّمهم أبي و بقر لهم العلم.

Al-Bāqir put special emphasis on the principles of nass and of wasiyyah, in rebuttal of Zayd's claims, asserting that Zayn al-'Ābidīn had entrusted him with a casket (sandūq) containing secret religious scrolls and the personal effects of the Prophet, including his weapons, and refusing to share these with his brothers saying that it was given to him as his exclusive inheritance (Basā'ir 180).

We should note the participation of Abū Jārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundhir in Zayd's revolt; esteemed by the Kūfan extremists and originally a disciple of al-Bāqir, from whom he narrated the so-called Tafsīr al-Bāqir, the movement he generated called the Jārūdiyyah was evidently touched by Kaysānī ideology (Arendonk, Débuts 79-80, & 23 n. 2, 29 n. 1, 308) and held the ideas of nass and ghaybah. Another Zaydī grouping tinged by extremism which is mentioned in connection with the Imāmī Shī'ī line of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq were the 'Ijliyyah, the partisans of Hārūn b. Sa'īd al-'Ijlī, considered as the 'Sayyid' of the Zaydīs and who participated both in the revolts of Zayd and later of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh; see Arendonk, Débuts 89 & 309; Friedländer II 106 n. 5; & Basā'ir 174-76, 179, 184 (for a series of reports about their relations with al-Ṣādiq revolving around 'Ijlī support of al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah's claim to Imāmah).

Yet other Kūfan Shī'īs, more moderate in outlook, abandoned al-Bāqir for Zayd, such as the Batriyyah (Arendonk, 32 n. 1 & 86-87), among whom was al-Ḥakam b. 'Utaybah al-Kindī, an eminent judge of Kūfah of Mu'tazilī inclination who had associated with Zayn al-'Ābidīn and al-Bāqir, and had been the teacher of several members of the Banū ...

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47. (cont.) A'yun (themselves important disciples of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq; see below, n. 177) before going over to Zayd (Jafri, Origins 253 & 306). However, al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq were able to attract some of Zayd's followers to their own cause as well (Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh II, 1698-1700). Such alignments and changing allegiances clearly reflect the intense rivalry between the two brothers, al-Bāqir and Zayd, over the claim to legitimacy in 'Alid Ḥusaynid authority, and involved a number of important political, juridical and theological issues which continued to be hotly debated in inter-Shī'ī polemics over the second and third centuries. Groupings such as the Jārūdiyyah and the 'Ijliyyah, which retained definite imprints of the doctrines circulating in Imāmī circles connected with al-Bāqir or of Kaysānī inspiration (e.g., nass, and chiliastic expectations) were readily drafted into support by 'Alid Ḥasanid propaganda. For a discussion of the positions of these groupings vis-a-vis Ḥusaynid and Ḥasanid Shī'ism, see: R. Strothmann, Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen (Strassburg, K. J. Trübner, 1912) 34f. & 65; W. Madelung, Der Imām al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen (Berlin, Walter De Gruyter, 1965) 44-51. It is possible that Zaydī insistence on an activist military stance was aimed explicitly against al-Ṣādiq as a stay-at-home Imām; certainly Zayd would have nothing to do with taqiyyah (Arendonk, 33-34). Zayd was the first 'Alid to mount an armed uprising since the tragedy of al-Ḥusayn over fifty years earlier, and his movement paved the way for successive revolts, leaving a deep imprint on the development of the whole Shī'ī movement.

48. W. F. Tucker, "Abū Manṣūr al-'Ijlī and the Manṣūriyya: a study in medieval terrorism" Der Islam 54/1 (1977) 66-76, gives a good review of the material on this figure. Abū Manṣūr and his followers institutionalized and rationalized terrorism, being especially fond of strangulation and stoning, and considered the assassination of their enemies a good deed. Tucker rightly underlines the significance of the involvement of members of the 'Ijl, Kindah and Bajīlah tribes of Kūfah in Abū Manṣūr's following (Ibid., 67-68), and particularly the role of the Banū 'Ijl in various ghulāt trends, some of whose members

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48. (cont.) had already become Christianized and/or Persianized before Islām (see Moscati, "Antica Šī'a" 267; Goldziher, "Islamisme et Parsisme" RHR 43 (1901) 23; W. M. Watt, "'Idjl" E.I.^{2} III, 1022-23). Abū Manṣūr at first acknowledged the imāmate of al-Bāqir, who disavowed and cursed him; after al-Bāqir's death Abū Manṣūr went the route of other Shī'ī pretenders, declaring himself Imām, then prophet, on the supposed basis of al-Bāqir's designation (nass). He taught a version of the 'continuation of prophecy'— according to one report Abū Manṣūr accepted seven prophets from the Banū 'Ijl and seven from Quraysh (Tucker, "Manṣūriyya" 71)— as well as Tafwīd (Christ was the first 'person' created, the second being 'Alī); conceived of Heaven and Hell as symbols (Paradise referred to the Imām, Hell to the Imām's enemies, i.e. the first three Caliphs & the Umayyads); interpreted the halāl and harām as referring to men to be either served or opposed (tashakhkhus); and espoused the idea that Ahl al-Bayt were Heaven while the Shī'ah were the Earth. Abū Manṣūr also claimed that he had been chosen to give the correct interpretation (ta'wīl) of the revelation vouchsafed to the Prophet Muḥammad. His tale of ascension to Heaven and audience with God (God touched with His hand the head of Abū Manṣūr and spoke to him either in Aramaic or in Persian; thus he was the "fragment"/kisf spoken of in the Qur'ān 52:44) is highly interesting as an index to popular conceptions of prophetic experience in the Kūfan environment of the early second century. We may perceive in this "fragment fallen from the sky" which Abū Manṣūr variously identified with God Himself, with 'Alī, and with himself, the same idea of a God in Heaven and a God on earth which Bayān had also given expression to.

(The doctrine of 'two powers', which probably owes something to Zoroastrianism and Marcionism, had already become naturalized among Jewish mystics of the Meṭaṭron school by the time of Islām, who saw in such a created mediator a 'little Lord', that is, an instrument of divine government, if not necessarily also of the original process of creation. The designation "Little Lord" (Adonai qatan or YHWH qatan) was fairly widespread in Jewish and Christian gnostic circles, so that a seventh century Christian Syraic author could speak of

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48. (cont.) "the shameful error, the Israelite cult" believing in Adonai qatan (the 'Little Lord') as the commander in chief (rab hela) of the Great Lord (Adonai gadol); see S. W. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews (New York, Columbia U. Press, 1958) VIII, 16 n. 15. It would be worthwhile to pursue this ghālī notion further and explore its implications for doctrines such as Tafwīd, or compare it with al-Bāqir's and al-Ṣādiq's understanding of the Imām as God's Hujjah on Earth; cf. the description of the Khaṭṭābiyyah given by al-Kashshī (Rijāl 325 #588): ... وانّ إله السماء وإله الأرض الإمام، فجعلوا لله شريكا، ... but this would take us beyond the scope which we have defined for this study.)

The Manṣūriyyah took oaths by swearing: "No, by the Word/Kalimah!" Tucker suggests that Abū Manṣūr was responsible for introducing into extremist Shī'ī thought the idea that "the function of religious interpretation belonged to someone other than Muḥammad" ("Manṣūriyya" 73). In this respect we should bear in mind his connection with al-Bāqir, and the latter's reputation for ta'wīl.

49. Arendonk, 33-34, 41-42. After Yaḥyá's death the Khurāsānīs mourned publicly for seven days. It is significant that Yaḥyá b. Zayd was advised to go to Khurāsān to find supporters for 'Alid rights (Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh II 1713), for Khurāsān had been the scene of intense 'Abbāsid propaganda from the early years of the second century with agents such as the Persian Ḥayyān al-Aṭṭār (executed by the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān ca. 107; Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh II, 1358). It may be that the success of 'Abbāsid propaganda there was due to the widespread sympathy aroused for the 'Alid pretenders, which the 'Abbāsids were quick to capitalize , especially profiting from the deep sentiments aroused by the blood of Zayd and Yaḥyá. Gholam Hossein Sadighi notes that many of the early 'Abbāsid dā'īs in Khurāsān were more sympathetic to 'Alid claims than to 'Abbāsid rights, and that their call to al-Riḍá min Āl Muḥammad may have been interpreted as a call to 'Alid rights; Les Mouvements Religieux Iraniens (Paris, Les Presses Modernes, 1938) 53-54. The case of Abū Salamah Ḥafs bears this out.

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49. (cont.) After the success of Abū Muslim and al-Saffāḥ, the 'Abbāsids advanced their interpretation of Ahl al-Bayt as referring to the house of 'Abbās. P. A. Griazevich ("On the Meaning of the term الرضى" XXV Congress of Orientalists, rpt. 13p., Moscow, Oriental Literature Publishing House, 1960) interprets the phrase: "ilá al-Ridá min Āl Muhammad" as used by 'Abbāsid religious and political propaganda to connote "to him of the Family of Muhammad (i.e. from Banū Hāshim) who is pleasing to all", based on the idea, persisting since the early days of Islām, that the caliph as successor to Muhammad was to be chosen by ~~the will~~ of the community; 'Alīd propaganda, on the other hand, gave this phrase another meaning after 'Abbāsid success, namely: "to him (from the progeny of 'Alī) who is pleasing to God", thus rejecting the connotation that the community's consensus was necessary to legitimize his authority. We would suggest that the former meaning (i.e., al-Ridá as the ijmā' of the community) surfaced in 'Abbāsid ideology after, rather than before, their political success, while the latter meaning (i.e. al-Ridá as God's choice for the community) was how the Shī'ah received this 'Abbāsid slogan before their victory, and how the 'Alids continued to perceive it. Cf. below, n. 52.

50. This famous meeting at al-Abwā' (a place, or perhaps a mountain, on the road from Makkah to Madīnah & the site of the grave of the Prophet's mother Amīnah; W. M. Watt, E.I.^{2} I, 169) highlights al-Ṣādiq's attitude to his Ḥasanid cousins' claims to leadership of the 'Alid cause, and plays a role in the future ambivalent relations between him and the 'Abbāsid al-Manṣūr. See: Arendonk, 46-48; & Vaglieri, "Divagazioni" 323-25, for references to the sources. Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr was present at this first meeting, and reportedly also al-Saffāḥ and 'Imām' Ibrāhīm, at which the Banū Hāshim met at the instigation of 'Abdallāh al-Mahḍ to take stock of the situation as it stood during the civil war among the Umayyad princes in Syria following al-Walīd b. Yazīd's murder, and the turbulence throughout the provinces among Shī'īs, Khārijites and the Mawālī. Al-Mahḍ succeeded in gaining the apparent agreement of the 'Abbāsids to

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50. (cont.) to rally around the Mahdī-ship of his son Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah, although the 'Abbāsids were busy laying the grounds for their own movement. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq was conspicuous by his boycott of the meeting, despite repeated and urgent demands by al-Mahd that he attend, to which Ja'far replied with his famous prediction that al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah would meet his Maker at the sword of al-Manṣūr. Al-Manṣūr later was to have occasion to remind al-Ṣādiq of his prediction (Kulaynī, Rawdah I 58-59). There may have been another meeting convened at al-Abwā' by al-Mahd (possibly even three), at which Shī'ī followers, Zaydīs and Mu'tazilah 'ulamā' attended in order to make bay'ah to al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah. Al-Mahd's dubbing his son Muḥammad "al-Mahdī" is noteworthy; did he do so with an eye to attract the Kūfan ghulāt or the Kaysānī currents, with their violent messianic predelictions (Vaglieri, "Divagazioni" 340 n. 3)? Jafri ("Legitimist Shī'ism" 232) suggests that the famous tradition that the Mahdī was to be from Ahl al-Bayt and carry the same name as the Prophet, and his father's name was to be the same as the Prophet's father, was first put into circulation by 'Abdallāh al-Mahd on behalf of his son Muḥammad. It is probable that Ḥasanids such as al-Mahd and his sons commanded immense prestige in the community at large, perhaps more than Ḥusaynids such as al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq; al-Mahd (the laqab means "of pure blood") was in direct male line of descent from 'Alī via al-Ḥasan, and via his mother Fāṭimah bint al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, he mixed Ḥusaynid blood in his veins.

51. K. V. Zetterstéen, "'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyya" E.I.^{2} I, 48-49; Hodgson & M. Canard, "al-Djanāḥiyya" E.I.^{2} II, 441; & Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh II 1879-87, 1976-80. This great grandson of Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib attracted a certain number of the Ḥanafiyyah Shī'īs after Abū Hāshim's death, as well as zindīqs like Mutī b. Iyās, al-Baqlī and Qays b. Zubayr (Ash'arī, Maqālāt 6, 22, 85; & al-Nawbakhtī, Firaq al-Shī'ah (Istanbul, 1931, ed. H. Ritter) 31). His revolt attracted many Zaydīs, the Persian Mawālī and even some Khārijites; Ibn Mu'āwiyyah's temporary success in the eastern provinces alarmed the 'Abbāsids, who probably goaded Abū Muslim into removing this threat to their own movement, with

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51. (cont.) al-Manṣūr reportedly going to Khurasān to personally handle the situation. See al-Jāḥiẓ, Kitāb al-Bayān wa al-Tabyīn (Cairo, Maṭba'at al-Raḥmāniyyah, 1932) II, 67f., for 'Abdallāh's remarkable letter in prison to Abū Muslim. 'Abdallāh is said to have held that knowledge grew in his heart like truffles or herbs; J. Van Ess, "Skepticism in Islamic Religious Thought" 9. He asserted that "both the godhead and the prophetic office were united in his person, because the spirit of God had been transferred from the one to the other and had finally come to him" (Zetterstéen, 48). His followers held to the principles of nass, ghaybah and raj'ah; a group among them known as the Hārithiyyah believed in metempsychosis and in the presence of the Light of God in the Imām; "l'Esprit saint, pour ces janāḥīya, après s'être incarné dans la personne d'Adam et de Seth, était passé dans la lignée des prophètes, puis des imāms . . ." (Laoust, Schismes 36).

52. The career of Abū Muslim is instructive for Imāmī Shī'ī currents in the first half of the second century; see: Moscati, "Abū Muslim" E.I.^{2} I, 141; Laoust, Schismes 56-57, 61-63; and in general, M. A. Shaban, The 'Abbāsid Revolution (Cambridge U. Press, 1970). Moscati suggests that he possibly was a slave of Persian origin in the service of the Banū 'Ijl in Kūfah. By 119 he appears as one of the ghālī followers of al-Mughīrah b. Sa'īd (see above, n. 46), in whose entourage he was initiated by Kaysānī missionaries into their methods of propaganda and clandestine action. He then was rallied to the 'Abbāsid cause, and in 128 was sent to Khurāsān by 'Imām' Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, who declared that Abū Muslim was of the Ahl al-Bayt. "Éconduit par l'imām Ja'far, à qui il avait fait des offres de service, il se rallia aux Kaisānīya-'abbāsīya et finit à la tete de son propre parti, celui des rizāmīya . . .", observes Laoust (Schismes 62, referring to al-Shahrastānī). It should be kept in mind that distinctions between Ḥasanid, Ḥusaynid, Ḥanafiyyah, or 'Alid, Ṭālibite, Hāshimite, etc., were more often observed and appreciated by the more learned and legalistically minded people of Madīnah and Kūfah, while the majority of Shī'ah were ready to follow any leader from Ahl al-Bayt against

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52. (cont.) the despised Umayyads without making distinctions (thus the 'Abbāsids' clever call to: al-Riḍá min Āl Muḥammad). The Kūfans, on the other hand, were well known for their strong pro-'Alid sympathies, a fact which the 'Abbāsids took into account when they sent Abū Muslim (whom al-Ṣādiq had refused to have anything to do with) to Khurasān; their wariness of Kūfan predilection for 'Alids was behind al-Saffāḥ's assassination of Abū Salamah Ḥafs (who is reported to have offered the support of the Kūfans first to al-Ṣādiq then to 'Abdallāh al-Mahd). Abū Muslim himself did not hesitate to poison the Ṭālibite 'Abdallāh b. Mu'āwiyyah in 129 when this latter took refuge with him in Khurasān. Nevertheless, the 'Abbāsids from the beginning of their propaganda exploited Kaysānī ideology, with which their movement developed symbiotically. This explains the ghālī overtones of much of 'Abbāsid Shī'ism, groupings such as the Rāwandiyyah (who saw in al-Manṣūr an incarnation of divinity, for which devotion he repaid them by massacring them), or the Abū-Muslimiyyah (who accepted the ghaybah of Abū Muslim, expecting his raj'ah as the Mahdī; Nawbakhtī, Firaq 41-42, reports that they claimed that al-Manṣūr had only killed a demon who took on the appearance of Abū Muslim). The Abū-Muslimiyyah gave rise to a series of movements coloured by their Persian milieu: the sedition of Sunbādh of Nīshāpūr; that of al-Muqanna' the 'veiled' prophet in Marw, Bukhārā and Samarqand (accused of incarnationism and anthropomorphism by the heresiographers: "Dieu, après s'être successivement révélé dans Adam, Seth, Noé, Abraham, Moise, Jésus, Muhammad et Abū Muslim, s'était incarné dans la personne d'al-Muqanna', le meilleur de tous ces prophetes, chacun d'eux devant être tenu pour supèrieur à celui qui le précédait." Laoust, Schismes 74); the Muḥammirah in Jurjān; and the Khurramiyyah (see Madelung, "Khurramiyya" E.I.^{2} V, 63-65).

53. Al-Manṣūr's accession to the khilāfah saw an increased determination by the 'Abbāsids to both rid themselves of their extremist protégés, first by cold-bloodedly murdering Abū Muslim, later with the massacre of the Rāwandiyyah; as well as to throttle any sign of an uprising on the part of the 'Alids, whether Ḥusaynid or Ḥasanid, who now began

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53. (cont.) to voice complaints. Al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah started his Messianic propaganda (we have seen that his father al-Mahd may have begun such propaganda as early as the reign of the Umayyad Hishām; see our notices on al-Mughīrah, above n 46, and on the term 'al-Mahdī', below n. 60; Jafri, Origins 265-66 & 268 holds that his messianic movement originates from the time of the failure of Zayd's revolt), and with his brother Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdallāh disappeared from view, going secretely from place to place to gain adherents, even as far as Sind via Aden (Fr. Buhl, E.I. III 665-66). Al-Mansūr did not cease to make a rigorous and desperate search for the two brothers, all to no avail (see below, n. 55 & 56). Indicative of the shift in 'Abbāsid ideology once secure in power is al-Saffāh's discarding the memory of Abū Hāshim's testament to Muhammad b. 'Alī which had enabled the 'Abbāsids to appropriate the Shī'ī circles in Persia, for its connections with the ghulāt and with 'Alid Husaynid claims (i.e. the stress on nass) could be dangerous or embarrassing; now we see al-Mansūr stressing the paternal rights of al-'Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet. Jafri (Origins 277-79) in his discussion of al-Mansūr's repudiation of 'Alid claims by legal arguments and his repudiation of Kaysānī revolutionary messianism, highlights the importance of the exchange of letters between al-Mansūr and al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah before the latter's going underground.

54. B. Lewis, "Abū al-Khattāb" E.I.^{2} I, 134, & Origins of Ismā'īlism 32-37; W. Madelung, "Khattābiyya" E.I.^{2} IV, 1132-33, & "Ismā'īliyya" E.I.^{2} IV, 198-206, p. 203; W. Ivanow, Ibn al-Qaddāh (Bombay, Ismā'īlī Society, 1957, 2nd ed.) 98-110; L. Massignon, Salman Pak et les Premices Spirituelles de l'Islam Iranien (Paris, 1934; & in Opera Minora, Beirut, Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1963, I 443-483). He was at one time the chief dā'ī of al-Sādiq, or his wakīl in Kūfah responsible for collecting the khums tax for Ja'far, among other things. This notorious person has attracted much controversy, both among the ancients and the moderns.. "Abū'l-Khattāb claimed that the Imam Dja'far al-Sādik had appointed him as his deputy and legatee (wasī) and taught him the Greatest Name of God. He was at first encouraged

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54. (cont.) by the Imām, but later, probably still before 130/748, was repudiated and cursed by Dja'far. As a result, his followers split up into several subsects" (Madelung, "Khaṭṭābiyya" 1132). Seventy of his followers were cut down in the mosque of Kūfah by the troops of 'Īsá b. Mūsá, and al-Khaṭṭāb's head was publicly displayed (Lewis' statement that his head was impaled by al-Manṣūr by the gate of Baghdad, E.I.^{2} I, 134, is incongruous, since the Khalīfah only began the construction of that city in 145; Ivanow, however, tentatively dated his repudiation in 138 and his death ca. 145). The relations between al-Khaṭṭāb and Ismā'īl b. Ja'far are even more obscure, although there may be reason to infer that al-Ṣādiq resented his son Ismā'īl allowing himself to be lured by (or associate with?) al-Khaṭṭāb; we are referring to a passage from al-Kashshī (Rijāl 245 #449) where 'Anbasah b. Muṣ'ab (one of the Nāwūsiyyah: those who deified al-Ṣādiq) relates: "I was with Ja'far b. Muḥammad at the gate of the Caliph Abū Ja'far (al-Manṣūr) in Ḥīra when Bassām and Ismā'īl b. Ja'far were brought and taken before the Caliph. Bassām was brought out dead. Then Ismā'īl was brought out. Ja'far raised his head towards him and said, "You have caused it to be done, O evil-doer. I consign you to Hellfire." " (trans. Lewis, Origins 39; Massignon was the first to notice this passage— "Explication du Plan de Kūfa (Irak)" Mélanges Maspéro III (Cairo, I.F.A.O., 1940) 336-60, p. 350-51)— the context is supposedly after al-Khaṭṭāb's revolt; Bassām was a Kūfan banker with close links with al-Ṣādiq. Was al-Manṣūr giving Ja'far a terrible warning to control those of his followers (or Ismā'īl's followers?) who might follow Abū al-Khaṭṭāb's example? Is it possible that Ja'far 'disinherited' Ismā'īl over his Khaṭṭābī connections? (Cf. Basā'ir 471-73; yet consider Kashshī, Rijāl 323 #586 & 321 #581). Speculations aside, al-Khaṭṭāb's teaching espoused the notions of taqiyyah, the ta'wīl of the Qur'ānic prohibitions (i.e. tashakhkhus) and a Light doctrine of successive incarnations. He apparently asserted that he was a messenger prophet sent by Ja'far, making a distinction between Sāmit and Nāṭiq Imāms; he may also have divinized al-Ṣādiq, certainly some of his followers did. We cannot treat of the offshoots of al-Khaṭṭāb's movement (see Madelung,

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54. (cont.) E.I.^{2} IV, 1132) except to note one such grouping: the Mufaḍḍaliyyah, partisans of Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar al-Juʿfī, one of the most intimate and trusted disciples of al-Ṣādiq's inner circle; "according to an Imāmī report, al-Mufaḍḍal was appointed by the Imām Djaʿfar to guide the followers of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb after the condemnation of the latter" (Ibid.; see also Kashshī, Rijāl 327 #592, & in particular, the letter of Jaʿfar written to al-Mufaḍḍal instructing him on how to deal with these antinomian-sectarians in Basāʾir 526-36). The Khaṭṭābiyyah early on became linked with the Mukhammisah 'sect', and Ithnā ʿAsharī sources identify the Khaṭṭābiyyah with the early Ismāʿīliyyah; yet Madelung (E.I.^{2} IV, 1132) cautions against identifying the two: "The doctrine of the Ismāʿīlī movement emerging out of obscurity about the middle of the 3rd/9th century shows little affinity with the specific doctrines of either the early Khaṭṭābiyya or the Mukhammisa and generally repudiates Abūʾl-Khaṭṭāb. Mukhammisa texts which eventually were adopted into Ismāʿīlī literature, like the Umm al-Kitāb, are secondary importations. The bulk of the Khaṭṭābiyya-Mukhammisa evidently remained within the extremist fringe of the Imāmiyya. Mukhammisa doctrine formed the basis of the beliefs of the Nuṣayriyya . . ." There is much about all of these groupings which shall always remain obscure.

55. Al-Mahḍ refused to reveal the whereabouts of his sons ʿAbdallāh and Ibrāhīm, so al-Manṣūr arrested him in 140 in Madīnah. In the year 144, al-Manṣūr returned and collected another dozen prominent Ḥasanids along with al-Mahḍ, treating them brutally and throwing them into prison in Iraq, where most of them died refusing to disclose the location of al-Mahḍ's two sons. Al-Ṣādiq managed to stay out of sight on this second occasion (Ṭabarī, Taʾrīkh III, 172-74); "when ʿAbdallāh and the other ʿAlids were transferred in chains from Medina to al-Rabadha, Jaʿfar, watching their departure while prudently hidden behind a curtain, wept hot tears" (Vaglieri, "Divagazioni" 346-47). Apparently al-Ṣādiq's well-known position of always and everywhere disassociating himself from any kind of revolutionary entanglement stood him in good stead at this time. See Masʿūdī, Murūj III 311-12,

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55. (cont.) for the khutbah given by al-Manṣūr to his Khurāsānian supporters in al-Hāshimiyyah after his arrest of these 'Alids: al-Manṣūr deprecates al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (the sons of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib), as well as Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn, who was deceived by the untrustworthy Kūfans against 'Abbāsid advice, and he goes on to assert that the partisans of these 'Alids are full of envy for the success and truth which the 'Abbāsids manifested. In his speech, al-Manṣūr evidently lays claim to the "special knowledge" possessed by his family—asserting that his 'Abbāsid forebears had predicted Zayd's death and had tried to warn him of his fate, to no avail.

56. The revolt of the two brothers occupied almost the whole of the second half of the year 145. Al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah found his most enthusiastic support chiefly in the Ḥijāz, whose people with few exceptions swore the oath of allegiance to him. Besides gaining the wholehearted support of the traditionist circles in Madīnah, many Zaydis and Mu'tazilis of Kūfah and Baṣrah were sympathetic to his cause; other groupings as diverse as the Mughīriyyah and the Qadariyyah lent support (Laoust, Schismes 63-66; & Kulaynī, Usūl I 242), and the famous faqīhs Mālik b. Anas and Abū Ḥanīfah later had to pay dearly to al-Manṣūr for their legal support of 'Alid claims in this Ḥasanid uprising. There is little doubt that this revolt represented the most serious threat to al-Manṣūr than any other Shī'ī movement during his reign, and was treated as such.

Al-Irbilī (Kashf al-Ghummah II 374) preserves a statement from Ja'far's follower Muḥammad b. Sa'īd to the effect that al-Ṣādiq retired to his property in al-Fur' (a small village near Madīnah on the road to Makkah, close to al-Abwā') at the outset of al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah's uprising, and only returned to Madīnah after al-Nafs had been killed. This is confirmed by the statements of al-Wāqidī and al-Madā'inī; see Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Barr al-Namarī al-Andalusī, Tajrīd al-Tamhīd 24. Upon the collapse of al-Nafs' revolt, Ja'far, along with al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, was taken to Kūfah, where he was made to wait for one month before being interviewed by al-Manṣūr in order to give an account of himself; he was then permitted to return to Madīnah along with

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56. (cont.) other neutral 'Alids, although their property had been confiscated (Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh III 257; & Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rīkh (Beirut, Dār Ṣādir, 1965) V 544). Al-Ṣādiq's property of 'Ayn Abī Ziyād in Madīnah had been confiscated by al-Manṣūr's general 'Īsá b. Mūsá, and when Ja'far remonstrated with al-Manṣūr for its return, the Caliph replied with an abrasive reminder of 'Alid pretensions to Mahdī-ship (Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh III 225, & cf. 257):

... فقبض عين أبي زياد و كان جعفر بن محمد تغيب عنه فلما قدم أبو جعفر كلّمه جعفر و قال مالي ، قال قد قبضته مهديّكم .

57. Kulaynī, Usūl II 297./ Cf. also: al-Ṣadūq, Ma'ānī al-Akhbār (Tehran, Maktabat al-Ṣadūq , 1379/1959) 180; & Kulaynī, Rawdah I 302, where Ja'far writes to his followers urging them to exercise restraint towards the ignorant ones who seek leadership (al-ri'āsah).

58. Jafri, Origins 261.

59. One report has it that Ja'far indicated his willingness to support al-Mahd and make bay'ah to him as the 'Alid candidate against the Umayyads, but not to his son al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah; therefore al-Mahd's accusation of jealousy on Ja'far's part (Isfahānī, Maqātil 206-208; cf. also 238, 248, 253, & 256). Similarly, upon the death of the 'Abbāsid Ibrāhīm in 132, the Kūfan Abū Salamah Ḥafs (a Kaysānite follower of Abū Hāshim & 'Imām' Ibrāhīm's representative in Kūfah, known as "Wazīr Āl Muḥammad") reportedly offered the Imāmáte to three prominent 'Alids of the Ḥijāz, including al-Ṣādiq and al-Mahd, the latter inclining to accept it. "Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, in all the sources which have recorded this story, is reported to have severely warned 'Abd Allāh 'not to indulge and endanger his and his son's life in this game of power and treachery, as Abū Salama is not our Shī'a and the Khurasanians are not our followers.' 'Abd Allāh bitingly retorted, 'You are jealous of me and my son.'" (Jafri, Origins 273).

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60. In any event the 'Abbāsids were the ones who outstripped the Ḥasanids in the bid for power, their success having much to do with rallying the radical messianic following. Al-Mahd's designating al-Nafs al-Zakıyyah as 'al-Mahdī' was inte ded to achieve the same; unless the Kaysānī term "al-Mahdī" was already foisted upon Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh by the Ghulāt— see al-Wāqidī (in De Goege, Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum, Leiden, Brill, 1869, I 230):

... و يسمّى محمداً ,ابنه المهدي و النفس الزكيّة و يروى ذلك له المُغيرة مولى بجيلة الذي ينسب إليه المغيرية و بيان البيانيّ و كانا يكفران اصحاب الباقر ...

(cf. also: Arendonk 45 n.2).

It may have been this open manipulation of revolutionary apocalyptic by both the Ḥasanids and the 'Abbāsids which made al-Ṣādiq keep his distance.

We cannot pursue this further here, except to point out that the term 'al-Mahdī' appears to have been more native to 'Ḥanafiyyah' Shī'ism and its neo-Kaysānī derivatives, than to the Ḥusaynid Imāms where one more commonly meets with the term 'al-Qā'im' (or terms like al-Hudāt al-Muhtadūn for the Imāms). Do these two terms indicate two closely related tendencies in early Imāmī Shī'ism: one stressing more the apocalyptic Mahdī with his socio-political kingdom of righteousness as a future eschatological event (the motif of the perfect state and of revenge); the other stressing the gnostic 'resurrected' person of the Qā'im in the individual believer as a present reality? Cf. the remarks by H. Halm (Fruhen Ismā'ĪlĪya 6 & 18), where Muḥammad b. Ismā'Īl is termed both al-Mahdī and al-Qā'im in early Ismā'Īlism. AbdulAziz Sachedina points out that even by the late third/early fourth century no idea about the twelfth Imām being the Mahdī had yet been formulated among the Ithnā 'Ashariyyah, the terms al-Qā'im, Ṣāhib al-Amr and al-Ḥujjah being commonly employed to designate the last Imām during the period of the Shorter Occultation— "The Mahdiism of the twelfth Imām was a later development in the theory of the Imāmate of the Hidden Imām, which combined the already known belief in the coming of al-Mahdī to restore justice and

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60. (cont.) equity with the prolonged occultation of the twelfth imām" ("The Doctrine of Mahdiism in Imāmī Shī'ism" 83, PhD., University of Toronto, 1976; cf. also 68-74 for a discussion of the term al-Qā'im in early Imāmī sources, where the term al-Mahdī seems to be used only as an attribute).

61. J. B. Taylor, "Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, Spiritual Forebear of the Ṣūfis" IC 40/2 (1966) 98.

62. See above, notes 45 to 55. Both neo-Kaysānī apocalyptic and Zaydī legitimism were expressed in revolutionary action; here the pervasive legacy of the public careers of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī are decisive. Yet there were many shades of differentiation as well: e.g., from Jārūdiyyah Zaydism (tinged by Kaysānī ideology), to the party of Shī'ah who forsook Zayd for al-Ṣādiq on account of Zayd's acceptance of the first two Khalīfahs (thus implying the acceptance of the rulings of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, i.e. the acceptance of the 'ilm of the traditionist & juridical circles of the Ḥijāz and Iraq who based their rulings and doctrines on traditions from these companions of the Prophet as well as Prophetic sunnah).

63. Jafri observes: "The audience of Ja'far and the wide range of people whom he addressed and tried to convince is a sufficient proof that Ja'far himself did not intend to establish a separate sect which alone should follow his doctrine of the Imamate" (Origins 282). Jafri also argues that al-Ṣādiq "differed categorically from the hitherto dominating view that an Imam should be a caliph as well, and put forward the idea of dividing the Imamate and the caliphate into two separate institutions until such time as God would make an Imam victorious. This Imām, who must be a descendant of the Prophet through 'Alī and Fāṭimah, derives his exclusive authority, not by political claims but by nass, that is, explicit designation by the previous Imam, and he inherits the special knowledge of religion coming down in the family from generation to generation. Thus the sphere and domain of this Imam is chiefly religious leadership and

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63. (cont.) the spiritual guidance of the community, not the temporal power." (Ibid., 281-82). Despite the attractiveness of this hypothesis (i.e. that Ja'far wanted his Imāmate to be accepted and acknowledged by the whole body of the Muslims as distinct from the Caliphate) it would be very difficult to point to any explicit evidence that al-Ṣādiq 'divided' the Imāmate and the Caliphate into two equally legitimate and authoritative institutions, for this implies his condoning the legitimacy of Umayyad and 'Abbāsid rule, while also violating his teaching on the 'Two Clays' or Two types of men (see below, p. 31).

In this connection, it is pertinent to recall a report found in Sunnī sources (e.g., Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh I 2770f.) and referred to in Shī'ī polemics (e.g., al-Faḍl b. Shādhān al-Azdī al-Nīsābūrī, al-Idāh, Tehran, Tehran U. Press, 1392/1972, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Urmawī, 166-71) about 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb's sharp exchange with 'Abdallāh b. 'Abbās, where 'Umar says: ". . . Quraysh did not like to allow the Nubuwwah/prophethood and the khilāfah to be joined together in your family (i.e. Banū Hāshim) so that you would become arrogant and rejoice at it among the people. . . . I am told that you think that we have taken away the khilāfah from you through oppression and because of envy." Ibn 'Abbās replies: "As for oppression, it is evident . . . and as concerns envy, Iblīs envied Adam and we are the children of Adam" (cf. also Jafri, Origins 66-67). Yet the notion of "a legitimist Imām inspired with special knowledge" peculiar to Zayn al-'Abidīn, al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq does involve a distinction (or: a discrimination) between the two 'institutions': Kings of this world/Dawlat al-Bātil/'the-State-of-Vain-Illusion' & Spiritual Guides (Prophets and their Inheritors)/Dawlat al-Ḥaqq/'the-State-of-Truth', both established from the start of history (i.e., the seed of Cain & the seed of Seth)— see below, n. 147. Madelung's statement more correctly epitomizes this aspect of Imāmah as formulated in al-Ṣādiq's time: "Although the imām was entitled to political leadership as much as to religious authority, his imāmate did not depend on his actual rule or any attempt to gain it" (art. "Imāma", E.I.^{2} II, 1166).

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64. Esp. Basā'ir 138, 153, 157-58, 156, 169, 174, 176, 179, & 184; and Kulaynī, Usūl I 239-42.

65. E. Mittwoch, "Dhu'l Fakār", E.I.^{2} II, 233, states that: ". . . Muhammad's sword, after belonging to 'Alī, passed into the possession of the 'Abbāsid caliphs. . .", which shows that even the 'Abbāsids were not above appropriating this ultimate 'Alid symbol. See Ibn Sa'd, al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr (Leiden, Brill, 1917, ed. E. Mittwoch & E. Sachau) I/ii, 171-72, for a report that Zayn al-'Ābidīn had this sword in his personal possession, which he used to display to certain persons, & another report relayed by al-Ṣādiq from his father describing the sword of the Prophet. For the other associations of this symbol, see G. Zawadowski: "Note sur l'origine magique du Dhou-L-Faqār", En Terre D'Islām 1943/1, 36-40.

66. Basā'ir 174-76 & 184; see also p. 156 where one of Ja'far's followers describes to him how al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah attracts Zaydis to his cause. One report has it that when approached by several 'Ijliyyah who question him whether he is the Imām to whom obediance is obligatory, Ja'far denies this to their face, but proceeds to curse them after they leave (Ibid., 175-76). Concerning the significance of the Sword of the Messenger of God, apart from the old Arab veneration for certain legendary swords (whose heavenly origin was often stressed), we should note the chiliastic aura built up around Dhū al-Faqār which was to be unsheathed only by the Mahdī upon his return; thus the Khashabiyyah of Mukhtār's following as well as the Mansūriyyah avoided the use of steel weapons. Interestingly enough, the figure of Hārūn b. Sa'īd al-'Ijlī is connected in Muslim tradition with al-Jafr and al-Ṣādiq: see Ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī, 'Uyūn al-Akhbār II 145; & T. Fahd, "Djafr" E.I.^{2} II, 377.

67. T. Fahd, E.I.^{2} II, 375-77, who notes: "The Shī'ī conception of prophecy, closely connected with that of the ancient gnosis, . . . made the prophetic afflatus pass from Adam to Muhammad and from Muhammad to the 'Alids." This term later came to denote an esoteric literature of apocalyptic character, as well as a science of letters.

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68. H. Lammens, "Le culte des bétyles et les processions religieuses chez les arabes préislamites" BIFAO 17 (1920) 39-101, esp. 60-72, 78-82, & 91-93; Julian Morgenstern, "The Ark, the Ephod, and the 'Tent of Meeting'" HUCA 17 (1942) 153-266 & 18 (1944) 1-52. These important studies, when brought to bear on the material preserved in early Shī'ī sources (esp. Baṣā'ir 151-61; Kulaynī, Usūl I 239-42), open the door to a fresh approach to the 'legendary' subject of al-Jafr. To the best of our knowledge, all later reports in Ithnā 'Asharī literature on al-Jafr seem to stem from the accounts preserved by al-Ṣaffār in Baṣā'ir; a few such reports refer to a 'White' Jafr, but the majority speak only of a 'Red' Jafr, or of a white skin bag kept in the red leather case. Morgenstern comments: "Above all else, precisely like the kubbe and the still earlier palanquins, mounted upon camel-back, reproduced in Syrian art, the ark was thought to symbolize the actual presence of Yahweh, and undoubtedly even to contain a sacred stone . . . ." ("The Ark" 17, p. 246) "Possession of the clan teraphim, or still better of the ephod which housed the teraphim, established the social position of the holder as the recognized head of the clan, while their transmission in any way from one person to another determined the right of succession to clan authority and leadership. Apparently every Israelite ephod, precisely like the later Arabic kubbe, was made of red leather." (Ibid., 18, p. 48). We hope to return to this subject in the future.

69. Note the difference between al-Mahd's claim (only the sword in al-Jafr) and al-Ṣādiq's claim (al-Jafr containing not only the sword, but the 'Ilm of all previous prophets). What were the popular and religious/spiritual connotations of the relics of prophecy among Muslims at this period, and what does the claim that the Imām possessed them tell us about the role and function of the Imām?

70. We read "al-Malak"; alternatively one could read "al-Mulk" (sovereignty), both being plausible in the context of semitic religious history, yet the association with prophecy makes the former more likely. The 'Angel' here probably is connected with the Nāmūs Mūsá al-Akbar of

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70. (cont.) the ancient Arab Ḥanīfs (cf. J.-C. Vadet, "Les Ḥanīfs", for the Ḥanīf conception of the Ka'bah as the palladium of myriads of angels). However, note the comment of al-Bāqir who, in the course of relating the story of Saul and Goliath ('Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, Tafsīr, Najaf, Maṭba'at al-Najaf, 1386-87, I p. 81), says:

... و كانت النبوّة في بني إسرائيل في بيتٍ و المُلك و السلطان في بيتٍ آخر لم يجمع الله لهم الملك والنبوّة في بيت واحد .

and al-Bāqir goes on to quote several Qur'ānic verses about Saul (2:246-7) where Saul (of the tribe of Benjamin, neither a priestly nor a Kingly tribe) is rejected by the People of Israel (Qummī, Tafsīr I 164 - on Q. 5:20): ... و كانت النبوّة في ولد لاوِى والمُلك في ولد يوسف و كان طالوت من ولد بن يامين أخي يوسف لِأمه لم يكن من بيت النبوة ولا من بيت المملكة ، ...

Does this have any bearing on the question whether al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq distinguished between the Imāmate and the Caliphate/Kingship? (See above, n. 63; keep in mind that these Imāms often likened their Shī'ah to the People of Israel, whose hardships and trials were repeated for them.)

Besides being a good example of 'Isrā'īliyāt', can we link this with the famous statement Muḥammad made to 'Alī: "You are to me as Hārūn to Moses . . ."? See M. J. Kister, "Haddithū 'an banī isrā'īla wa-lā haraja" in Israel Oriental Studies (Jerusalem, Tel Aviv U., 1972)II 215-39, p.233, for references to Shī'ī sources to the relation of 'Alī to Muḥammad as Aaron to Moses; "The role of 'Alī as wasiyy in relation to the Prophet corresponds to the role of Joshua b. Nūn in relation to Moses" (Kister, reference to Furāt, Tafsīr, 65-68). In connection with this, we should remember that the names of the two sons of 'Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, were given by the Prophet himself, and Shī'ī tradition has it that: "The angel Gabriel revealed to the Prophet the names of the two sons of Aharon, Shubbar and Shubbayr, which are written in the Torah and ordered him to give these names to the two children of 'Alī. The rendering of these names is al-Ḥasan and

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70. (cont.) al-Ḥusayn (probably Hebrew: Shefer and Shafīr— K)" (Kister, 223). It may be pertinent to recall that Jewish Rabbinic tradition strove to explain away the numerous biblical passages wherein Aaron is represented as sharing the revelation with Moses (e.g., Lev. 10:8; Num. 18:1 & 18:8)— the Rabbis made Moses the exclusive medium of revelation, yet maintained that Aaron was spiritually fit to receive revelations, and were careful to insist on Aaron's great merits, which made him fully deserving to receive the Torah. B. J. Bamberger ("Revelations of Torah after Sinai - an Aggadic Study" HUCA 16 (1941) 97-113) demonstrates that the notion that the entire revelation was completed during the forty days spent by Moses on Mount Sinai, was directed against Gnostic and esp. Christian anti-nomianism; "The Rabbis saw danger in the notion of a continuous revelation, mediated by more than one lawgiver. . . . If the Law was given through several agents, we may have to regard new prophets as legitimate lawgivers. Hence the insistence that the whole Torah was given in forty days through a single person . . ." (Ibid., 113). Does this shed any light on the significance of ʿAlī being likened to Aaron? G. Vajda points out that: "In the historiosophy worked out by the Ismāʿīliyya, Hārūn is a ḥudjdja or a waṣī together with Mūsā" (G. Eisenberg & G. Vajda, "Hārūn b. ʿImrān" E.I.^{2} III, 231-32). For al-Ṣādiq, ʿAlī shared with Muḥammad his Knowledge, but not the function of nubuwwah; see e.g., Kulaynī, Usūl I 263: ... عن أبي عبد الله ع قال: إن جبرئيل ع أتى رسول الله ص برمّانتين فأكل رسول الله ص أحديهما وكسر الأخرى بنصفين فأكل نصفاً و اطعم علياً نصفاً ثم قال رسول الله ص: يا أخي! هل تدرى ما صاتان الرمّانتان؟ قال: لا، قال: امّا الأولى فالنبوّة، ليس لك فيها نصيب وامّا الأخرى فالعلم أنت شريكي فيه، ...

71. Baṣā'ir 176-77; see also Kulaynī, Usūl I 238, where this statement is reported from both al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq.

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72. Kulaynī, Usūl I 233; & with variants, Basā'ir 175.

73. Kulaynī, Rawdah II 311; and another incident where al-Mahd makes this charge, involving the presence of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far, Basā'ir 138. Another contemporary of al-Ṣādiq who also labelled him rajul suhufī was the Kūfan jurist Abū Ḥanīfah, but there the point of this nickname may have had to do with their opposing views on the nature of juridical rulings, Abū Ḥanīfah promoting the use of independent opinion (ra'y and qiyās); see below, n. 77. There are many references to al-Ṣādiq in our sources as "sāhib kutub", and it is clear that many Shī'ah believed that the source of his knowledge lay in his possession of secret books. One report has it that a certain follower of Ja'far complained of an ailment, for which al-Ṣādiq prescribed sugar. Upon his return to health, the fellow described his cure to a doctor (ba'd al-mutatabbibīn, a quack?) who asked in surprise (Kulaynī, Rawdah II 123):

... من أين عرف أبو عبد الله ع هذا ؟! هذا من مخزون علمناه أمّا إنّه صاحب كتب ينبغي أن يكون أصابه في بعض كتبه.

74. Basā'ir 161. Clearly the Ḥasanids inherited the Zaydī stress that knowledge is gained by study; on the whole the Zaydis were sharply critical of the Imāmī Shī'ī notion of the omniscience of the Imām. See al-Ṭabarsī, al-Iḥtijāj, II 118f., for al-Ṣādiq's dispute with the Mu'tazilah who asked him to make bay'ah to al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah. Ja'far was sharply critical of the Ḥasanid's view of 'ilm, even maintaining that whatever knowledge of religion they did possess had been taught them by al-Bāqir (Basā'ir 179, quoted above, n. 47).

75. Basā'ir 151; cf. al-Ṣādiq's instructions to his followers on what way to reply to Ḥasanid propaganda (Ibid., 158):

... انّه قال في بني عمّه: و لو انّكم إذا سألوكم و أجبتموه و احتجّوكم بالأمر كان احبّ إليّ أن تقولوا لهم انّا لسنا كما يبلغكم و لكنّا قوم نطلب هذا العلم عند من هو أهله و من صاحبه و هذا السلاح عند من هو

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75. (cont.) و هذا الجَفْر عند من هو و من صاحبه. فإن يكن عندكم فانّا نبايعكم و ان يكن عند غيركم فانّا نطلبه حتّى نعلم.

If we connect this with another report (Basā'ir 179) we get some idea about what Ḥasanid propaganda was spreading about Ja'far; a mawlá of the Ḥasanids reports to al-Ṣādiq:

انّي خرجت من عند بني الحسن آنفاً فسمعتهم يقولون انّ شيعتك بالكوفة يزعمون انك نبيّ وانّ عندك سلاح رسول الله . . .

See also Kashshī, Rijāl 360 #665.

76. See Basā'ir 362-65; Kulaynī, Usūl I 62-68, 398-400. A typical statement of this assertion vis-a-vis the ikhtilāf al-hadīth in the early community is found in Basā'ir 363:

. . . عن هشام بن سالم قال قلت لأبي عبد الله ع جعلت فداك عند العامّة من احاديث رسول الله شيء يصحّ ؟ فقال: نعم انّ رسول الله أنال و أنال و أنال وعند نا معاقل العلم وفصل ما بين الناس.

(cf. also Mufīd, Ikhtisās 308: . . . و إنّا اهل بيت عندنا معاقل العلم و ضياء الأمر و فصل ما بين الناس.). An essential distinguishing trait of early Imāmī Shī'ism is the belief in hidden knowledge reserved for an elite; according to a reliable report by an ex-leader of the Mukhtāriyyah Kaysāniyyah, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah (d. 99), the Mukhtāriyyah held that: ". . . the Prophet Muḥammad hid (katama) nine tenths of the Qur'ān. . ." (W. al-Qāḍī, "Term Ghulāt" 298). Note al-Bāqir's response to the condemnation of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī of those who concealed knowledge (Basā'ir 9):

. . . سمعت أبا جعفر ع وعنده رجل من أهل البصرة يقال له عثمان الأعمى و هو يقول انّ الحسن البصري يزعم أن الذين يكتمون العلم يوذي ريح بطونهم أهل النار، فقال أبو جعفر ع: فهلك إذا مؤمن آل فرعون وما زال العلم مكتوما منذ بعث الله نوحاً ع فليذهب الحسن يميناً و شمالاً فوالله ما يوجد العلم إلّا هيهنا.

as well as al-Ṣādiq's statement

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76. (cont.) concerning the Prophet (Kulaynī, Rawdah II 128):

ما كلّم رسول الله ص العباد بكنه عقله قطّ ، قال رسول الله ص إنّا معاشر الانبياء اُمرنا ان نكلّم الناس على قدر عقولهم .

For a comprehensive overview of all the aspects of the 'ilm of the Imām, see: Baṣā'ir 114-367; &Mufīd, Ikhtiṣās 287-307.

77. Especially his famous dialogues with Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150), a subject which deserves a separate study, for they delineate Ja'far's specific understanding of Imāmah with respect to juridical knowledge and authority, and were often quoted in later Muslim literature. For Ithnā 'Asharī materials, see e.g., Kulaynī, Usūl I 57; al-Ṣadūq, 'Ilal al-Sharā'i' 86-92; Ṭabarsī, Ihtijāj II, 110-18; Ibn Shahrāshūb, Manāqib Āl Abī Tālib IV 252-54. Cf. I. Goldziher, The Zāhiris (Leiden, Brill, 1971, trans. W. Behn) 14-15, who considered these stories as fabrications, along with J. Schacht, Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence (Oxford, 1950) 129-30; Ja'far as a Muḥaddith is taken as representative of Ahl al-Hadīth, while Abū Ḥanīfah as a faqīh represents Ahl al-Ra'y. Yet al-Ṣādiq must be viewed more as a rival founder of a legal school concerned with practical aspects of law (like Abū Ḥanīfah) rather than as solely a transmittor of traditions. Thus, Abū Ḥanīfah's rejection of 'Alī's legal precedents was particularly distasteful to al-Ṣādiq, who also objected to Abū Ḥanīfah's view of the Imāmates of Zayd b. 'Alī and of al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah. Later Ithnā 'Asharī opinion tends to make much of Abū Ḥanīfah's supposed 'disciple-ship' with al-Ṣādiq. Note the dispute between the two men over who was more learned, involving questions of tafsīr and fiqh as well as the opinions of a group of Ja'far's Kūfan Shī'ah, where Abū Ḥanīfah reportedly said (al-Ṣadūq, 'Ilal 89-91):

... و ما يعلم جعفر بن محمد أنا اعلم منه! أنا لقيت الرجال و سمعت من افواههم و جعفر ابن محمد صحفي أخذ العلم من الكتب. ... [الصادق]: أما في قوله اني رجل صحفي فقد صدق، قرأت صحف آبائي ابراهيم وموسى ...

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78. Shaykh al-Mufīd, al-Ikhtisās 331. The verse is a well-known one: "Those whom God willeth to guide, He openeth their breast to Islām; those whom He willeth to lead astray, He makes their breast close and constricted (dayyiqan harajan)" - 6:125. Ṣadūq, Ma'ānī al-Akhbār 145, gives Ja'far's tafsīr of this last phrase (dayyiqan harajan):

... قد يكون ضيّقاً وله منفذ يسمع منه و يبصر، والحرج هو الملتئم الذي لا منفذ له يسمع به و لا يبصر منه.

Unfortunately, we shall make no attempt to review al-Ṣādiq's exegesis of the Qur'ān, nor to demonstrate how his thought is firmly grounded and guided by his approach to the Qur'ān. See however the references given below, n. 161, and the early Tafsīr collections of al-'Ayyāshī, al-Qummī, and Furāt al-Kūfī (vide Bibliography).

79. Kashshī, Rijāl 391-93 #736-740, & 432 #814; al-'Ayyāshī, Tafsīr (Qumm, Ilmiyyah, 1370) I 15, where al-Ṣādiq enjoins:

... ألبس و أتجمل فان الله جميل يحبّ الجمال ...

80. Kulaynī, Usūl II 629 (where Ja'far objects to the use of gold ink for writing the Qur'ān, preferring black); Nabia Abbott, Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri II (Chicago, 1967) 223, 229-31.

81. Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh III 254, for his prediction of the violent deaths of al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah and Ibrāhīm. See e.g., Kulaynī, Rawdah II 171-75, for a number of cases of his dream interpretations, which are replete with interesting information about popular beliefs of Ja'far's time (e.g., p. 171-72, where al-Ṣādiq interprets the sun rising from the head as indicating dīn and nūr, rather than khalīfah or malik), as well as pointing to conflicting juridical practices (e.g., p. 173-74, where al-Ṣādiq correctly interprets a dream about mut'ah marriage which Abū Ḥanīfah failed to understand). The popular image of al-Ṣādiq as a master of divinatory sciences swelled greatly over time, and this process must have begun from a very early period (e.g., the ascription of the science of geomatria, 'ilm al-hurūf or

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81. (cont.) al-Jafr to him & his legendary association with Jābir b. Ḥayyān). Allied with this is his later reputation as an adept of Hemerology (Ikhtiyārāt) and of the magical uses of Qur'ānic verses— cf. R. Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young, "A Treatise on Hemerology ascribed to Ǧa'far al-Ṣādiq" Arabica 23/3 (1976) 296-307; and Arthur Christensen, Xavāss - I - Āyāt: Notices et extraits d'un Manuscript Persan traitant la Magie des Versets du Coran (København, A. F. Høst & Son, 1920, "Det. Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.-Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser. III, 4").

82. See e.g., Baṣā'ir 235-57. As a sample, one report (Ibid., 241-42) tells how Khālid b. Nājīḥ al-Jawār (a colleague of al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī; Najāshī, Rijāl 115, & Kashshī, Rijāl 594 #591) entered al-Ṣādiq's majlis once when many people were present. Khālid veiled his head, took himself off to one corner, and thought to himself: "Woe unto them! How heedless are they of who it is they speak with— with the Lord of the Worlds (Rabb al-'Ālamīn)!" At that moment al-Ṣādiq called out to Khālid: "Woe unto you, Khālid! By God, I am but a slave, created, I have a Lord whom I worship; if I did not worship Him, by God, He will punish me with Hellfire!" All Ithnā 'Asharī biographies contain accounts of Ja'far's miraculous powers which on close examination boil down to his ability to read minds, and to foretell the future. We also find a number of reports concerning various extraordinary 'visions' which al-Ṣādiq is said to have induced in certain of his close disciples; see e.g., Baṣā'ir 403-405, where 'Abdallāh b. Sinān is shown three rivers, of water, of milk, and of wine, and a celestial tree with houris hanging by their hair from its branches, and is given to drink from a goblet of three differently-colored liquids; and the journey to Malakūt al-Samawāt wa al-Ard that al-Bāqir induces in Jābir al-Ju'fī, which retraces Alexander's route through the outer darkness to the Fountain of Life.

83. Cf. below, p. 37f., on the Asbāb. Al-Waqār is considered one of the distinguishing marks of the Imām; see e.g., Baṣā'ir 489:

... عن الحرث بن المغيرة قال قلت لأبي عبد الله ع : بم يعرف صاحب هذا الأمر؟ قال: بالسكينة والوقار والعلم والوصيّة.

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84. T. Fahd observes: "Médine a l'époque de Ǧa'far était le meilleur terrain sur lequel pouvaient fleurir les sciences ésoteriques, et la Maison de Zayn al-'Ābidīn pouvait servir de refuge médinois à tous les penseurs indésirables aux yeux de l'orthodoxie, par suite de l'inviolabilité dont elle jouissait tout au long de l'époque umayyade et auprès des premiers 'Abbāsides."; "Ǧa'far Aṣ-Ṣādiq et la tradition scientifique Arabe" 140, in Le Shī'isme Imāmite (Paris, 1970).

85. The term al-khāssah, as opposed to al-'āmmah, is used in at least two senses in our sources: first, to denote the learned intellectual and religious elite in contrast to the mass of Muslims (as e.g., in Mas'ūdī, Ithbāt 180, who states concerning Ja'far: أنّه ع كان يجلس ... للعامّة والخاصّة.); and secondly in a more specific sense to denote the Shī'ah of the Imāms of Ḥusayn's line, considered as the true religious and intellectual aristocracy in Islām due to the infallible source of their knowledge (cf. below, p. 44f.). These two meanings are often treated as synonymous, not necessarily contradictory, the 'āmmah being understood to comprise all non-Shī'ī Muslims whether learned or not who did not avail themselves of the 'Ilm provided by the Imām.

86. Thus the famous and oft-repeated statement of al-Ṣādiq: "Our discourse is difficult and painful to comprehend; None can bear it except for a Near Angel, or a Messenger Prophet, or a Believer whose heart God has tested for Faith . . ." (see e.g., Baṣā'ir 21-28; Kulaynī, Usūl I 401-402; Furāt al-Kūfī, Tafsīr (Najaf, Ḥaydariyyah, 1354) 7; Ṣadūq, Ma'ānī al-Akhbār 188; as well as the lexicon of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ṭirīhī, Majma' al-Baḥrayn (Najaf, 'Ilmiyyah, n.d.) II, 99-100). Much insight into Ja'far's spiritual ideology can be extracted by a careful scrutiny of these reports, which are also relayed from his father and grandfather; or even 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, e.g., Mufīd, Ikhtiṣās 163:

... كلامي صعب مستصعب لا يعقله إلّا العالمون.

Allied with this is the warning by the Ḥusaynid Imāms that he who cannot fathom the truth of their discourse should "return it" to the

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86. (cont.) Imām, and not deny its authenticity— e.g., al-Bāqir's statement (Basā'ir 22): ... انّ حديثنا صعب مستصعب أجرد ذكوان وعر شريف كريم فإذا سمعتم حتّه شيئا ولانت له قلوبكم فأحتملوه و أحمدوا الله عليه وإن لم يحتملوه و لم تطيقوه فردّوه إلى الإمام العالم من آل محمد ص فانّما الشقى الهالك الذي يقول والله ما كان هذا ... (cf. also below, n. 196)

This notion of the tremendous charge entrusted to the Prophet and the Imām has to do with the Mithāq/Covenant God made with Adam (Kulaynī, Usūl I 401) and the mission/Amr of the Imām (see below, p. 35f.); consider al-Ṣādiq's declaration (Kulaynī, Usūl I 402): ... إنّ عندنا والله سرّاً من سرّ الله و علماً من علم الله و الله ما يحتمله ملك مقرّب ولا نبيّ مرسل ولا مؤمن إمتحن الله قلبه للإيمان والله ما كلّف الله ذلك أحداً غيرنا ولا استعبد بذلك أحداً غيرنا ... and al-Ṣādiq goes on to specify that only those who were created from the clay of Muḥammad and his family, and from the Light which the Prophet and his descendants were created from, are able to bear this Knowledge. Concerning the notion of the 'Clay' of the Imām, see below, n. 110. The process of imtihān al-qalb/testing-the-heart-for-Faith has to do with the 'Knowing-the-Imām'/Ma'rifat al-Imām, and the infusion of rūh al-īmān into the soul/nafs of the believer.

87. Basā'ir 328: ... إنّي لأتكلّم على سبعين وجهاً لي في كلّها المخرج.

This statement is well-attested to in early Ithnā 'Asharī sources, and was often repeated by al-Ṣādiq to persons who were puzzled when he gave different answers to the same question at different times.

88. The letters of al-Ṣādiq to his companions in Kūfah deserve a separate study. They include his famous wasiyyah to Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī instructing him on how to deal with certain Khaṭṭābī factions (Basā'ir 526-36; see above, n. 54), and an interesting epistle found in

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88. (cont.) Kulaynī, Rawdah I, 2-21. It appears that his wakīls were responsible, among other things, for collecting and delivering the khums tax to the Imām, often involving large sums (e.g., Rawdah II 162; Kulaynī, Usūl I 408; 'Ayyāshī, Tafsīr I 184).

We may note in passing that the whole question of legal taxation among the early Shī'ah demands separate investigation, but appears at first glance to have played an important role in the organization of Imāmī Shī'ī revolutionary and propaganda activities. The Imāms claimed to have as their rightful due the khums which the Prophet had collected, as well as the sadaqah, zakāt, fay' taxes, and even the kharaj tax. Cf. the reply of Ibn 'Abbās to a Khārijite leader where he affirms the right of Banū Hāshim to the khums— al-Faḍl b. Shādhān, Idāh 185-87; & Kulaynī, Usūl I 538-48, "Bāb al-Fay' wa . . . al-Khums wa hudūduhu"; and the peripheral comments of Joseph Eliash, "Misconceptions Regarding the Juridical Status of the Iranian 'Ulamā'" IJMES 10 (1979) 9-25. The Ḥasanid 'Alids financed their opposition to the 'Abbāsids through such donations from their Shī'ah, a fact which al-Manṣūr was deeply disturbed by; see e.g., Basā'ir 246; al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, Ithbāt al-Hudāt (Qumm, 'Ilmiyyah, n.d.) V, 339-40; Ibn Qutaybah al-Dīnawarī, al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah (Cairo, al-Ḥalabī, 1377; ascribed to Ibn Qutaybah) II 94-95; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil V 514 & 516. The fraudalent misappropriation of such funds after the death of Mūsá al-Kāẓim may have been a factor in the Wāqifī grouping which held the ghaybah of al-Kāẓim.

Concerning the many visitors received by al-Ṣādiq at his home in Madīnah, whether Shī'ī or not, we note the etiquette involved in being admitted to his presence, unrestricted access being given only to his more intimate companions. Numerous reports also depict his meetings with his Shī'ah in his tent at Mina during the Hajj; see e.g., the session involving Abū al-Khaṭṭāb and two other Kūfans given in Kulaynī, Usūl II 401.

89. See the references given by Nabia Abbott (Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri II, 229), who points out that Ja'far was "recognized as an active traditionist who transmitted from both Abū Ḥanīfah and Mālik

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89. (cont.) b. Anas and from and to many prominent scholars of the Ḥijāz and 'Iraq, Shi'ite and Sunnite alike." Abbott also maintains that al-Ṣādiq wrote books, but this is questionable. The Musnad which al-Ṣādiq is credited with in Sunnī tradition is perhaps to be identified with later Shī'ī compilations, e.g., the "Musnad Ja'far al-Ṣādiq" included in the Qurb al-Isnād of Abū al-'Abbās 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far al-Ḥimyarī al-Qummī (d ca. 300)— see F. Sezgin, GAS I, 165. (We have been unable to examine the compilation of Kāẓim al-Kafā'ī, al-Musnad li al-Imām Abī 'Abdallāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq (Najaf, Maṭba'at al-Ādāb, 1961), to see whether it differs from al-Ḥimyarī's work.) We cannot attempt to deal with the writings of various genres attributed to al-Ṣādiq in Muslim tradition, most of which seem to reflect the concerns of later schools; see the partial listing given by Sezgin, GAS I, 528f.

90. See e.g., Kulaynī, Rawḍah I 6 & 19; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī, Kitāb al-Maḥāsin (Tehran, Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1370, ed. al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Urmawī al-Muḥaddith) I, 136-38; Ṣadūq, 'Ilal 106. A number of important themes in his teaching are linked with these terms, which we can only point to here, since we reserve their detailed treatment for another time: the myth of Adam and Iblīs; the doctrine of the Two Spirits, or the guardian angel and demon (also expressed by the notion of a 'white spot' or a 'black spot' in man's heart); the theme of innate love or innate hate for the Imām (or for the Truth); the theme of Light versus Darkness; and the Dualism characterizing his spiritual ideology as well as its historico-political references (see below, n. 111). To give a foretaste of all this, we may point to two reports from al-Ṣādiq in Kulaynī, Usūl II 214: إنّ الله عزّوجلّ خلق قوماً لِلحقّ فإذا . . . مرّ بهم الباب من الحقّ قبلته قلوبهم و إن كانوا لا يعرفونه و إذا مرّ بهم الباب من الباطل أنكرته قلوبهم و إن كانوا لا يعرفونه، و خلق قوماً لغير ذلك فإذا مرّ بهم الباب من الحقّ أنكرته قلوبهم و إن كانوا لا يعرفونه . . .

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90. (cont.) and Ibid.: ... إنّ الله عزّوجلّ إذا أراد بعبد خيراً نكت في قلبه نكتة بيضاء وفتح مسامع قلبه و وكّل به ملكاً يسدّده وإذا أراد بعبد سوءاً نكت في قلبه نكتة سوداء و سدّ مسامع قلبه و وكّل به شيطاناً يضلّه.

91. His frequently being addressed as: Ibn Rasūl Allāh, and less frequently as Ibn bint Rasūl Allāh, indicates that the veneration due to the Prophet was paid to him in recognition of his physical descent. It is significant that Ja'far's followers regularly employed the phrase: ju'iltu fidāk/'may I be your sacrifice', in addressing him, which is certainly revealing for the religious connotations of the notion of 'Shī'ah' in early Islām. The ashyā' (like ansār) pledged the sacrifice of their material wealth or their lives in aid of their leader (M. M. Bravmann, The Spiritual Background of Early Islām, Leiden, Brill, 1972, 222); does the notion of 'shī'ah' contain within it some resonance of the ancient semitic practice of the Nazirite, i.e. of one's dedicating his life or worldly self to one's Lord as a sacrificial offering? (see 'Alī Zay'ūr, al-Tafsīr al-Sūfī li al-Qur'ān 'ind al-Sādiq, Beirut, Dār al-Andalus, 1979, 22-24). Apart from these considerations, we must recognize the well-entrenched idea of the Prophet's primordial spermatic-essence passing down through the loins of pure ancestors, and its convergence with the notion specific to Imāmī Shī'ism of the transmission of divine Light/essence-of-semen-virile through the prophets via Muḥammad to the Imām, which operated behind such veneration of the Imām; cf. U. Rubin, "Pre-Existence and Light, Aspects of the concept of Nūr Muḥammad" Israel Oriental Studies V (Jerusalem, Tel Aviv U., 1975) 62-119; & M. Eliade, "Significations de la 'Lumière Interieure'" Eranos-Jahrbuch 26 (1957) 189-242. The transmigration of the Holy Spirit through the bodies of the Imāms underlies the Imāmī Shī'ī notion of Wasiyyah (Rubin, "Pre-existence" 107); these themes are central to ghulāt experience, and we shall try to determine how far they are crucial for al-Ṣādiq's teaching (see below, n. 113).

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92. E. Kohlberg ("Some Imāmī-Shī'ī views on Taqīyya" JAOS 95 (1975) 395-402) has described the different Ithnā 'Asharī attitudes to taqiyyah, which were shaped as much by political and historical circumstances as by the growth of an increasingly intricate body of Shī'ī doctrine. In that context, taqiyyah is usually translated as 'precautionary dissimulation" stemming from fear due to persecution. The other side of its significance, in the way we find it used by al-Ṣādiq for instance, requires us to understand it more in the sense of secrecy or a devout caution arising from God-fearing piety; see e.g., Kulaynī Usūl II 217-23; Kashshī, Rijāl 391 #735; & Mufīd, Ikhtisās 25, who reports Ja'far's comment on the Qur'ānic verse 41:34 'And good and evil are not alike. Repel evil with that which is best . . .' : "Good (al-hasanah) is al-taqiyyah, and evil (al-sayyi'ah) is divulging-our-secret (al-idhā'ah)." The notion of taqiyyah is bound up with the parallel notion of kitmān al-sirr, 'concealment of the secret', involving withholding the esoteric mysteries of religion from those not worthy of it, especially its enemies who reject the walāyah of the Ahl al-Bayt. Note al-Ṣādiq's statement (Kulaynī, Usūl II 218):

أتقوا على دينكم فأحجبوه بالتقيّة ، فإنه لا إيمان لمن لا تقيّة له ، إنما انتم في الناس كالنحل في الطير لو أنّ الطير تعلم ما في أجواف النحل ما بقي منها شيء إلّا أكلته و لو أنّ الناس علموا ما في أجوافكم أنكم تحبّونا اهل البيت لأكلوكم بألسنتهم و لنحلوكم في السرّ و العلانية ، رحم الله عبداً منكم كان على ولايتنا .

This emphasis by Ja'far and al-Bāqir for their Shī'ah not to divulge the inner teaching with which they were entrusted is met with again and again in early Ithnā 'Asharī reports (e.g., Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nu'mānī, Kitāb al-Ghaybah (Tabrīz, Ṣābiri, 1382) 13-15) particularly in the Imāms' condemnations of various ghālī pretenders, or for example in the case of al-Mu'allī b. Khunays, a Persian mawlá of al-Ṣādiq executed in Madīnah in 133 (for his public propaganda for al-Ṣādiq's rights & collecting money for the

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92. (cont.) Imām) and to whom Ja'far is reported to have said (Kashshī, Rijāl 378-79 #709):

... يا مُعَلّى انّه من كتم الصعب من حديثنا جعله الله نوراً بين عينيه و زوّده القوّة في الناس ، ومن اذاع الصعب من حديثنا لم يمت حتّى يعضّه السلاح أو يموت بخبل ...

We must point to a remarkable report found in Furāt, Tafsīr 132, delineating the four levels of people to whom Ja'far relates his traditions: 1) Muslims in general, 2) his Shī'ah in general, 3) two or three persons in particular, and 4) a single person. Such warnings about revealing the inner secrets ilá ghayr ahlihi are as often matched by complaints that his followers twist the meaning of his hadīths and interpret them wrongly. It is important that taqiyyah is said to be as binding on the Imām as on his disciples; see e.g., the report in al-Nu'mānī, Ghaybah 14:

[الصادق]: ... ليس هذا الأمر معرفة ولايته فقط حتّى تستره عمّن ليس من أهله و يحسبكم ان تقولوا ما قلنا و تصمتوا عن ما صمتنا فانكم اذا قلتم ما نقول و سلمتم لنا فيما سكتنا عنه فقد آمنتم بمثل ما آمنا به ....

or al-Ṣādiq's advice to his companions in Kulaynī, Rawdah I 165:

لا تذكروا سرّنا بخلاف علانيتنا و لا علانيتنا بخلاف سرّنا ، حسبكم أن تقولوا ما نقول و تصمتوا عمّا نصمت ، ...

Goldziher points out that the notion of taqiyyah was operative as early as the time of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, but that with al-Ṣādiq it becomes a necessary principle of true faith; "Das Prinzip der Takija im Islam" ZDMG 60 (1906) 213-220.

93. The division of religious knowledge into zāhir and bātin is fundamental to their teaching, and is often expressed in a hadīth related from the Prophet: "The Qur'ān has both a back (zahr, i.e. an exterior meaning) and a stomach (batn, i.e. an interior meaning)"; see e.g.,

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93. (cont.) the reply of al-Bāqir to Jābir b. Yazīd al-Ju'fī when questioned as to why he gave varying interpretations of the same Qur'ānic problem at different times (Barqī, Mahāsin II, 300):

. . . يا جابر إنّ لِلقرآن بطناً و لِلبطن بطناً و له ظَهر ولِلظهر ظهر، يا جابر ليس شيء أبعد من عقول الرجال من تفسير القرآن إنّ الآية يكون أوّلها في شيء و آخرها في شيء وهو كلام متصل منصرف على وجوه .

Also see al-Bāqir's judgement of the Umayyads ('Ayyāshī, Tafsīr II 65):

. . . هم شَرّ خلق الله ، هم الذين كفروا في بطن القرآن و هم الذين لا يؤمنون .

Apart from the ta'wīl of the Qur'ān, the notion of esoteric knowledge is linked with the understanding of prophecy and the wasīyah of the Imām, who inherits the Sirr/secret and deposits it with the spiritual elite; compare the statement of al-Bāqir (Nu'mānī, Ghaybah 15):

. . . سِرّاً سرّه الله إلى جبرئيل و اسرّه جبرئيل الى محمد و اسرّه محمد الى عليّ و اسرّه عليّ إلى من شاء الله واحداً بعد واحدٍ ، و انتم تتكلّمون به في الطُرُق !؟

We have seen above (p. 28) that the claim to 'special knowledge' not shared by the community at large is the key distinguishing trait of al-Ṣādiq's notion of 'ilm in contrast to his contemporaries. We may gain some idea of what this Knowledge consisted of by al-Ṣādiq's statement to his companions (Kulaynī, Usūl II 222-23):

. . . أما والله لو كنتم تقولون ما أقول لأقررت أنّكم أصحابي ، هذا أبو حنيفة له أصحاب وهذا الحسن البصري له أصحاب ، و أنا امرؤٌ من قريش قد ولدني رسول الله ص و علمت كتاب الله و فيه تبيان كلّ شيء : بدوُ الخلق و أمر السماء و أمر الارض و أمر الأوّلين و أمر الآخرين و أمر ما يكون ، كأنّي أنظر إلى ذلك نصب عيني !

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94. W. Madelung, "Imāma" E.I.^{2} II, 1163-69, p. 1166. Cf. also p. 1167a for a concise yet comprehensive statement on the significances of "Imām" in Ithnā 'Asharī traditions. Of course, this is not the only difference; see our discussion of al-Muhaddath, below p. 39.

95. Kulaynī, Usūl I 203; & (with slight variants) Mas'ūdī, Ithbāt 179. We shall not attempt to discuss all the details of this statement; we quote here only the beginning portion of this remarkable speech, which deserves to be translated and commented on fully as it is one of the best indices to al-Ṣādiq's understanding of Imāmah (see Kulaynī, Usūl I 203-205, K. al-Hujjah, "Bāb Nādir Jāmi' fī Fadl al-Imām wa Sifātihi" #2). For general orientation on Ja'far's view of 'Imām', see: Basā'ir, passim.; Kulaynī, Usūl I "Kitāb al-.Hujjah"; Jafri, Origins, chap. 11, 289-316; & 'Abdallāh Fayyāḍ, Ta'rīkh al-Imāmiyyah 131-53.

96. Mawāddihi here connotes 'substance', God's 'substance' or the overflow of God's grace and special guiding dispensations to the Faithful. The Ahl Mawāddihi wa 'Alamihi would thus connote the truly guided and divinely assisted Faithful who recognize and know the Walāyah of the Imām, and who share in the essential nature or 'substance' of the Imām (i.e. his spiritual sphere of Light origin). Compare the explanation of this phrase given by the Ṣafavid savant Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, Mir'āt al-'Uqūl Sharh Usūl al-Kāfī (Tehran, lith., 1321-25/1903-07) I, 157:

. . . "على أهل مَوَادِّهِ" : المادّة الزيادة المتصّلة أى الذين يصل اليهم رزقه تعالى و ترتيبه او هدايا ته و توفيقاته الخاصة و الضمير لله ، و كذا في عَالَمِه بفتح اللام وهو معطوف على الموادّ أو على الاهل عَطفِ تفسير أو عَطفِ الأعمّ على الأخصّ . . .

In this sense, Mawādd has to do with the Asbāb, the 'recourses' that the Imām has to Heaven (see below, n. 112).

However, we should remember that the notion of 'substance' was discussed in the circles of the Ḥusaynid Imāms al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq

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96. (cont.) and al-Kāẓim in terms of Ṭīnah/'Clay' (equivalent to jawhar), implying a consubstantiality of God and man— see below, n. 110. Thus, Mawādd may possibly be taken in the sense of a substrate matter or substance for subsistance as reflected in the early Imāmī Shī'ī speculative discussion of God as an Entity (Shay'/'Being'), as found e.g.. in the thought of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, who defined God as a Body (jism) or Entity (shay'); see Michèle Angela Margherita DeAngelis, "The Collected Fragments of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam Imamite Mutakallim of the Second Century of the Hegira" (unpublished Doctoral dissertation, New York U., 1974) 88f. & 125-27. Such a 'material' view of God (namely, God as the absolutely 'finest' and most subtle of matters) might conceivably be involved in this phrase: Ahl Mawāddihi, 'those who share an essential consubstantiality with God's (Light) essence'; against this, however, cf. the use of the term mawādd by al-Bāqir (Kulaynī, Usūl I 261 #4)— "mawādd al-'ilm", in the sense of the problems and decisions of religious science.

97. Basā'ir 104. We have rendered the phrase al-hujjat al-bālighah by 'the profoundly competent authority', according to the context; it is difficult to find an appropriate word in English for hujjah— perhaps 'guarantor', 'exponent', 'token', or 'examplar', all of which are better than the conventional 'proof'. W. Ivanow, Studies in Early Persian Ismā'ilism (Bombay, 1955, 2nd ed.) 16-19, links the term hujjah with the old semitic notion of testifying the truth of claims, either of the truth of religion, or of a prophet's mission, and translates it variously as: "proof, argument, witness, testimony, token." Hodgson ("Ḥudjdja" E.I.^{2} III 544-45) distinguishes three meanings of the term hujjah in Shī'ī terminology, including: "that person through whom the inaccessible God becomes accessible, who serves at any given time as evidence, among mankind, of His will . . ." H. Corbin observes that: "L'idée du Hojjat implique donc déjà l'indissociabilité de la prophétologie et de l'imāmologie; et parce qu'elle déborde les temps, elle s'origine a une réalité métaphysique dont la vision nous reconduit au thème gnostique de l'Anthropos céleste" (Histoire de la Philosophie Islamique 65). We may say that

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97. (cont.) the notion of the Hujjah embodies the means or the manifestation of God's Rahmah on earth, providing the 'aid' for man to fulfill the Covenant, and also to testify and remind men about the Mīthāq by always observing it himself both as an example and a reminder that it can be done. Thus, the Hujaj are 'God's Group', like the Sethian remnant who continue unabated the original Adamic adherence to the Covenant. The figure of the Hujjah represents the universal moral obligation incumbent upon God to provide the means for man to come to know and follow God's directives (cf. our introductory inscription to this study: wa li al-khalq ʻalá Allāh an yuʻarrifahum); the Hujjah must therefore be in possession of all the necessary knowledge required for the guidance of man both in his worldly life and his spiritual or other-worldly affairs. If he was not so equipped, God would not make obedience to him obligatory, as al-Ṣādiq maintained (Basā'ir 124):

و الله لا يكون عالِم جاهلاً أبداً عالم بشئ جاهل بشئ ،
(ثم قال): الله اجلّ و اعزّ و أعظم و أكرم من أن يُفرض طاعة
عبد يحجب عنه علم سمائه و أرضه ، (ثم قال): لا يحجب ذلك
عنه .

(By ʻālim is meant the Imām, a use which is well attested in our sources; see below, n. 138.) Later on, the Ithnā ʻAsharī doctors were to elaborate this into their central dogma that God's Lutf is obligatory upon Him in order that man's moral obligations be binding (taklīf); see Muhammad Rafii Yunus, "The Necessity of Imāmah according to Twelver-Shīʻism" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1976). Here, the role of the Hujjah as the final adjudicator in all matters of halāl and harām provides some justification for our translation: 'profoundly competent authority'; thus the stress by al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq on their possession of the Sahīfah of ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, termed al-Jāmiʻah, which contained the detailed instructions of the Prophet on all matters of religious Law, even down to "the blood-wit for a fine scratch."

The other aspect of Hujjah (referred to by Corbin) can be seen

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97. (cont.) in the famous statement of al-Ṣādiq (e.g., Kulaynī, Usūl I 177): al-Hujjah qabl al-khalq, wa ma‘ al-khalq, wa ba‘d al-khalq. Cf. the comments of al-Ṣadūq on this report, which he quotes in his discussion of the khalīfah-status of Adam as supporting his thesis that al-khalīfah is prior to al-khalīqah (Ikmāl al-Dīn wa Itmām al-Ni‘mah fī Ithbāt al-Raj‘ah, Najaf, Ḥaydariyyah, 1389, p. 4). Also compare the use of the term hujjah in Ibn Hishām's recension of Wahb b al-Munabbih, Kitāb al-Tijān fī Mulūk Himyar (Hyderabad, ‘Uthmāniyyah, 1347) 18:

. . . ثم ان آدم لمّا بلغ دعوة الله وعلت حُجّة الله في بنيه وفي الجن وكثرت ذريته في الارض فتكملت أيامه أتاه وعد الله و أتاه جبرئيل فقال له : يا أبا محمد السلام يقرئك السلام ويأمرك ان تقيم شيثا خليفة من بعدك في الارض للانس والجن يقيم فيهم حجّة الله و ينهاهم عن معصيته . . .

(Adam's kunyá is Abū Muḥammad, for the first thing Adam saw after God inspired His Spirit into him was the name Muḥammad in glowing letters on the base of God's Throne; cf. Mas‘ūdī, Ithbāt 17.) Another early use of the term hujjah is met with in Ibn al-Mubārak's K. al-Zuhd (p. 407 #1161), who reports a saying of the Prophet Muḥammad via al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī:

. . . قال رسول الله ص : العلم علمان : علم في القلب فذلك العلم النافع ، و علم على اللسان فذلك حجّة الله على خلقه .

which seems to refer to the Qur'ān as revealed on the tongue of the Prophet. Cf. also Qur'ān 4:165 & 6:149.

Finally, note the phrase: "those who are beneath Heaven and above Earth;" the intermediary nature of man, precariously positioned between the beasts and the angels, is hinted at here, as well as the moral dilemma this entails ("amr bayn amrayn").

98. Basā'ir 61. The 'We'/Nahnu form of speech is essential to take cognizance of; it is one of the distinguishing marks of the Imāms'

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98. (cont.) more important utterances, and leads us to question its significance in the history of religious ideas. We are reminded of various hadīths of the Prophet Muḥammad favored by Ṣūfīs (of the type: "I am . . . "). Often when al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq say "We", they mean to include not only their fathers up to ʿAlī, but the Prophet Muḥammad himself as well as previous prophets. As with the "Ego eimi" style of Jewish Wisdom literature, the aretalogy of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq arises from their understanding of the Imām as a hypostasis of World-Mind (see below, p. 42).

99. Basā'ir 61; & Kulaynī, Usūl I 190-91, for more details.

100. H. Corbin, "For the Concept of Irano-Islamic Philosophy" The Philosophical Forum IV/1 (1972) 114-23, p. 120; although Corbin's words describe Mullā Ṣadrā's metaphysics, we can take them here as very well fitted to express the notion of the Hujjah in al-Ṣādiq's teaching, who referred to his own person as: "Wajh Allāh fī al-Ard/ the Face of God on earth." See also Corbin's penetrating study: "Face de Dieu et Face de l'Homme" Eranos-Jahrbuch 36 (1967) 165-228, who points out the significance of the term Dīn in its use by the Imāms.

101. Thus Basā'ir 57: [الصادق]: . . . ونحن ذمّة الله و نحن عهد الله فمن وفا بذمّتنا فقد وفا بذمّة الله ومن وفى بعهدنا فقد وفا بعهد الله ومن خفرها فقد خفر ذمّة الله و عهده .

The connection with God's pre-creation Covenant with humanity is specified, e.g., by al-Ṣādiq's comment on the Qur'ānic verse 7:172 (ʿAyyāshī, Tafsīr II 37): أخذ الله الحجّة على جميع خلقه يوم الميثاق ...

102. Jaʿfar's statement to Ibn Abī Yaʿfūr (Basā'ir 61; cf. al-Ṣadūq, al-Tawhīd 152): إنّ الله تبارك وتعالى واحد متوحّد بالوحدانيّة متفرّد بأمره فخلق خلقاً ففرّدهم لذلك الأمر فنحن هو يا ابن أبي يعفور فنحن حجج الله في عباده و شهداؤه في خلقه . . .

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102. (cont.) May we link this with al-Ṣādiq's notion of Tafwīd (cf. above, n. 46; & Basā'ir 378-87; Mufīd, Ikhtisās 330)?

103. The distinction between Muslim and Mu'min (vide ʻāmmah - khāssah, above n. 85) is crucial to Jaʻfar's teaching, linked with his distinction twixt Islām and Imān likened to the relation between the Haram and the Kaʻbah (Kulaynī, Usūl II 25-28). From this developed the Ithnā ʻAsharī dogma that only the Shīʻah are mu'minūn. According to al-Ṣādiq, the mu'min haqqan haqqan is the Mu'min "whose heart God has tested for Faith."

104. A good summary of this aspect of the Imām is found in M. Ayoub, Redemptive Suffering chap. II, 53-68, "The Proofs of God - Ḥujaj Allāh".

105. Ibid., 55.

106. See e.g., Kulaynī, Rawdah I 185-86; Ṣadūq, ʻIlal 246; al-Ḥimyarī, Qurb al-Isnād (Najaf, Haydariyyah, 1369/1950, ed. ʻAbd al-Mawlá al-Ṭarīḥī) 24,& 31 where al-Ṣādiq states:

إن الله تبارك وتعالى إذا أراد بعبده خيراً وكّل به مَلَكاً فأخذ بعضده فأدخله في هذا الأمر.

and Ibid., 210, where Jaʻfar's grandson ʻAlī al-Riḍá remarks:

. . . وذُكِرَ عند الرضا ع القاسم بن محمد خال أبيه و سعيد بن المُسَيَّب فقال: كانا على هذ الأمر.

Cf. Barqī, Mahāsin I 161, for al-Bāqir's statement:

لن تطعم النار من وصف هذا الأمر.

and Ibid., I 202:

. . . عن معاذ بن كثير قال: قلت لأبي عبد الله ع: إنّي لا أسألك إلّا عمّا يعنيني، إنّ لي أولاداً قد أدركوا، فأدعوهم إلى شئ من هذا الأمر؟ فقال: لا، إنّ الإنسان إذا خلق علويّاً أو جعفريّاً يأخذ الله بناصيته حتّى يدخله في هذا الأمر.

(see also above, notes 92 & 83, and below, n. 147).

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106. (cont.) The Amr in the above reports is the guidance which the Imām provides by dispensing the 'Ilm entrusted to him to those worthy of it; in other words, the direction of their spiritual and religious life. This is not to deny the well-known, more general meaning of Amr in a Shī'ī context as the 'Alid cause against the ruling dynasty, with its legitimist and very political intent. But this is certainly not intended in the following statements by al-Ṣādiq (Basā'ir 29):

انّ أمرنا هو الحقّ وحقّ الحقّ وهو الظاهر و باطن الباطن [sic] وهو سرّ و سرّ السرّ و سرّ المستسرّ و سرّ مقنّع بالسرّ .

and in Kulaynī, Usūl II 168-69:

لم تتواخوا على هذا الأمر إنّما تعارفتم عليه .

(an enigmatical reference to the pre-creation sharing of 'substance' of the Shī'ah when they were spirits without bodies; compare with the famous hadīth of the Prophet Muḥammad: الأرواح جنود مجندة ما تعارف منها ائتلف وما تناكر منها اختلف). Cf. also the remarks by Sachedina on the term Ṣāḥib al-Amr in its wider connotations in early Shī'ism ("Doctrine of Mahdiism" 74-77).

107. "The 'Amr of God in the Koran" Acta Orientalia 23 (1959) 7-18, p. 16. The widespread opinion among orientalists that amr inclines towards a memra/Sakina or Logos doctrine is cast doubt upon by Baljon; in his treatment of rūḥ in connection with amr (Q 17:85, 16:2, 40:15, 42:52) he deprecates the usual hypostase-hypothesis which sees rūḥ as a second emanation subsequent to amr. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq's position on this issue is more in line with orientalists such as D. B. Macdonald, "The Development of the Idea of Spirit in Islam" Acta Orientalia 9 (1931) 307-351, p. 312; and Widengren, Muhammad 129; see e.g., al-Ṣādiq's interpretation of Qur'ān 17:85 ('Ayyāshī, Tafsīr II 270):

إنّ الله تبارك وتعالى خلق روح القدس ولم يخلق خلقاً أقرب إليه منها ، وليست بأكرم خلقه عليه ، فإذا أراد أمراً ألقاه إليها فألقاه إلى النجوم فجرت به .

(see below n. 141, for the Imāms as the stars).

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107. (cont.) See also Sami Nasīb Makarem, "Al-Amr al-Ilāhī wa Mafhūmuhu fī al-'Aqīdat al-Ismā'īliyyah" Al-Abhāth 20/1 (1967) 3-15, who supports the Logos interpretation of Amr in the Qur'ān (against Baljon) and in early Shī'ism; as well as the same author's The Political Doctrine of the Ismā'īlīs (Delmar, N. Y., Caravan, 1977) 12, & 62 n. 23 where he observes that in Ismā'īlism "the person of the Imam is the station (mustaqarr) of God's Will or Word," and suggests that the Imām is an embodiment of God's Amr or creative Word. Cf. S. Pines, "Amr" E.I.^{2} I, 449-50, for the identity of Amr, Kalimah and Intellect in the longer Arabic version of the Theology of Aristotle, and early Ismā'īlī metaphysics. How far this later doctrine springs from al-Ṣādiq's teaching is difficult to determine from our sources (i.e. Ithnā 'Asharī literature), but see our discussion of al-Muhaddath below p. 39f.

108. Baljon, op. cit., 9.

109. The investigation of the development of eschatological ideas during this early period involves examining so many sides of Muslim thought: Qur'ānic exegesis, symbolism, philosophy of history, chronological calculation, prophetology . . . It is important both because the Qur'ān itself is so much steeped in eschatological ideas that al-Ṣādiq's treatment of them must have had the greatest consequences for the development of Shī'ī doctrine, and because in his handling of eschatology there is necessarily revealed his estimate of history. The centrality of eschatology for archaic Shī'ism is revealed in the deep response to the millennial program of the Mahdī claimants, as well as the widespread currency of malāhim speculations and traditions; cf. also our reference to al-Qā'im and al-Mahdī above, n. 60. Paul Ricoeur notes that in a world scheme based on a 'Fall', salvation is a new starting point in relation to the primordial creation, so that the theme of creation recedes to the position of cosmological background for the temporal drama of salvation-in-history. "Salvation, understood as the sum of the initiatives of the divinity and of the believer tending toward the elimination of evil, aims henceforth at a specific end distinct from the end of creation. . . .

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109. (cont.) that of a work of Salvation still pending until the 'Last Day'" (P. Ricoeur, The Symbolism of Evil, Boston, Beacon, 1969, 172-73). This wedding of cosmogony, cosmology and soteriology is basic to al-Ṣādiq's view of world 'history', or what is better called historiosophy.

110. One way to enter into the complex subject of al-Bāqir's and al-Ṣādiq's teaching on creation is by apprehending their notion of Ṭīnah ('Clay' or 'substance') and Rūh (spirit), which involves the Light-essence of Muḥammad, the Imāms and the Faithful, as well as the theme of Love (the inclining of the hearts of the believers towards the Prophet and Imāms) and of Hate, cf. below n. 128. The theme of the primordial Covenant God made with mankind leads us also into this subject; cf. L. Massignon, "Le 'Jour du Covenant' (Yawm al-Mīthāq)" Oriens 15 (1962) 86-92; & his La Passion de Hallāj (Paris, Gallimard, 1975, 2nd ed.) III, 116-18. Thus we find in Basā'ir 84-87, a series of reports describing Muḥammad's pre-creation vision where his community was displayed to him in 'clay' : لقد مثلت لي أمتي في الطين ... حتى رايت صغيرهم وكبيرهم أرواحاً قبل أن يخلق الأجساد ... and al-Ṣādiq adds (Ibid., 83) that the Names which were taught to Adam were also taught Muḥammad, whose primacy over all other prophets is due to his being the first to respond to God in Mīthāq. Ayoub observes that the Imāms were "first conceived in God's mind as a principle of order, harmony and goodness in the world; then they were made substantial as luminous entities or conventicles of light transmitted in the loins of prophets and wombs of holy women until they reached actualization in the Prophet Muḥammad" (Redemptive Suffering 54), and he characterizes the mode of creation of the Imāms as a process of concretization. "They are the 'speaking (nāṭiq) Qur'ān', the active or living logos while the Qur'ān is the 'silent' (sāmit), immanent divine logos whose understanding and application depend on them" (Ibid., 57). Such observations all revolve around a prior spiritual creation, commonly expressed by the notion that the spirits of the Faithful were created a thousand years (or various

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110. (cont.) units of thousands) before their bodies, and their hearts were made of the same 'clay'/substance from which the Prophets and Imāms were created (see Barqī, Maḥāsin I 131-38; Baṣā'ir 14-20). From this Homoousian consubstantiality and the key motif of Muḥammadan Light/logos, arise a multifaceted series of 'mythical' themes which comprise the basic structure of al-Ṣādiq's spiritual teaching. These include among others:

(a) The Mu'min is created from God's Light and 'sees' by that Light (Baṣā'ir 80): [الصادق]: إنّ الله خلق المؤمنين من نوره و صبغهم في رحمته و أخذ ميثاقهم لنا بالولاية على معرفته يوم عرّفهم نفسه فالمؤمن أخو المؤمن لأبيه و أمّه أبوه النور و أمّه الرحمة و انّما ينظر بذلك النور الذى خلق منه .

& compare Maḥāsin I 131, & 134 where al-Bāqir states:

... إنّ الله تبارك و تعالى خلق المؤمن من طينة جنان السموات و أجرى فيهم من روح رحمته فلذلك هو أخوه لابيه و أمّه .

(cf. above, n. 106).

(b) The heart (qalb) of the Mu'min is created from the uppermost of the loftiest heights of the universe out of the same 'clay' from which the Imām is created (Maḥāsin I 132):

[الصادق]: إنّ الله تبارك و تعالى خلقنا من أعلى عليّين ، و خلق قلوب شيعتنا منه ، و خلق أبدانهم من دون ذلك ، فقلوبهم تهوى إلينا ، لأنّها خلقت ممّا خلقنا منه ...

(compare Baṣā'ir 20); and al-Ṣādiq's classification of three kinds of clay (Baṣā'ir 16):

... الطينات ثلثة : طينة الأنبياء و المؤمن من تلك الطينة إلّا ان الأنبياء هم صفوتها و هم الأصل ولهم فضلهم ... و طينة الناصب من حماء مسنون و أمّا المستضعفون فمن تراب ...،

thus Ja'far declares: "The Mu'min is from Our 'clay', from the Ahl al-Bayt" (Maḥāsin I 135: المؤمن آنس الإنس جيّد الجنس من طينتنا اهل البيت), and

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110. (cont.) he explains the famous statement of Muḥammad: "Salmān is from Us, the Ahl al-Bayt" on the basis of the consubstantiality of Tīnah and the inner longing of the heart (Baṣā'ir 17-18).

Concerning the metaphysic of Light and the pneumatic concept of 'substance' implied in these fragments, we take note of the consequences for the nature of the unity of man, implying a consubstantiality of God and man. From a 'gross' point of view, the charge of hulūl/'incarnation' against the Shī'ah has something to it, but it also is blind to the quintessential docetic vantage point peculiar to Imāmī Shī'ism. Ugo Bianchi observes that: "L'idée de la consubstantialité des élus avec Dieu . . . est un monisme implicite, un monisme dualiste, où il n'y a pas de transcendance de Dieu entant que créateur, mais en tant que principe lumineux et pneumatique" ("Le Dualisme en Histoire des Religions" 38-39, in Selected Essays on Gnosticism, Dualism, & Mysteriosophy, Leiden, Brill, 1978). Ja'far restates this sharing of essential substance with varying terms; e.g., Ṣadūq, 'Ilal 117: إنّ الله عزّوجلّ خلقنا من علّيّين وخلق أرواحنا من فوق ذلك وخلق أرواح شيعتنا من علّيّين وخلق أجسادهم من دون ذلك فمن أجل ذلك كانت القرابة بيننا وبينهم و من ثم تحن قلوبهم الينا.

or again (from al-Ṣadūq, 'Ilal, as quoted in Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, Biḥār al-Anwār (Tehran, Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah, 1387) v. 61, 145-46): . . . و لأنّا و إيّاكم من نور الله عزّوجلّ ، فجعلنا و طينتنا وطينتكم واحدة ، ولو تركت طينتكم كما أُخذت لكنّا وانتم سواء ، ولكن مزجت طينتكم بطينة أعدائك ، فلولا ذلك ما أذنبتم ذنباً أبداً.

The notion that Light-Substance ('matter', cf. above n. 96) is paternal, while 'form' (al-Raḥmah/"tinctura Misericordiae" as Corbin glosses, "Face de Dieu" 187) is maternal underlies the monopsychism of what the Imām shares with his Shī'ah, and what the Imām shares with God. Again, al-Ṣādiq explains (Kulaynī, Usūl I 389): إنّ الله خلقنا من نور عظمته ، ثم صوّر خلقنا من طينة مخزونة مكنونة من تحت العرش ، فاسكن ذلك النور فيه ، فكنّا نحن

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110. (cont.) خلقاً و بشراً نورانيّين لم يجعل لأحد في مثل الذي خلقنا منه نصيب، وخلق أرواح شيعتنا من طينتنا و أبدانهم من طينة مخزونة أسفل من ذلك الطينة، ...

The "manifestation" of this Imāmitic Light 'substance' (which contains the real presence of a pneumatic that is to be known only by means of gnosis & in an eschatological perspective) leaves an opening for the engagement of the pneumatic being in this world, while also concurring with the gnostic idea of the pleroma, the ALL, and its relation to the world. See H. Corbin, "Face de Dieu" 183-97, for an elaboration of this theme. Here we enter into the very heart of al-Bāqir's and al-Ṣādiq's spiritual metaphysic, the notion of Muḥammadan Light or Nous as first creation; e.g., Kulaynī, Usūl I 442:

[الباقر]: ... إنّ الله أوّل ما خلق خلق محمداً و عترته الهداة المهتدين، فكانوا أشباح نور بين يدي الله. قلت: وما الأشباح؟ قال: ظلّ النور، أبدان نوريّة بلا أرواح، وكان مؤيّداً بروح واحد وهي روح القدس، فيه كان يعبد الله و عترته، لذلك خلقهم حلماء علماء بررة أصفياء، ...

(For the Imām as 'Aql, see below, p. 42).

(c) The Mu'min was created faithful and the Kāfir was created denying and ungrateful from pre-creation, and only God's badā' can alter this; see below, p. 152 n. 122.

(d) The mixing of two different kinds of 'clay', or two opposite types of water, determines the varying combinations of good and evil qualities in the individual and explains how a Mu'min can father a Kāfir & vice-versa. The notion of 'mixture' (imtizāj) is significant for understanding the notions of 'substance' as essential Being; see the chapters "Ikhtilāt al-Tīnatayn" (Barqī, Mahāsin I 136-38) & "Tīnat al-Mu'min wa al-Kāfir" (Kulaynī, Usūl II 9). Yet 'mixture'

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110. (cont.) is really only an aspect of the motif of Love and Hate (see below, n. 128). Paul Kraus (Jābir b. Ḥayyān, Cairo, I.F.A.O., 1942, II 171, n. 1) points to the latter chapter title in Kulaynī as an example of the equivalence of jawhar and tīʾah in early Muslim circles. DeAngelis notes that the appropriation of form to substance, matter or its natures or elements seems to be implied in the teaching of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, one of al-Ṣādiq's more important disciples, and bears certain affinities with early Arab Pythagorean-Hermetic writings ("Collected Fragments" 86 n. 9 & 163-65). Our sources contain reports where al-Ṣādiq employs the term jawhar (cf. below p. 44), as in the following description of the relation of spirit to body (Basāʾir 463):

[الصادق]: مثل المؤمن وبدنه كجوهرة في صندوق إذا خرجت الجوهرة منه طرح الصندوق ولم تتعب به، قال: ان الأرواح لا تمازج البدن ولا تداخله انّما هو كالكلّل للبدن محيطة به.

(e) The typology of 'clay', water, spirit and earth is employed to provide a scientific description of physical and psychological factors in man, involving the Four Qualities, the Four Elements, the Four Winds of the cardinal points, etc. (see e.g., ʿIlal 104f.). . . . These themes also employ a well-developed demonology and angelology, a medical theory, a physics, a science of the affections and the vices, and the meshing together of prophetic history, religious symbolism and a political commentary. Our study can only suggest or evoke some of these aspects in their appropriate places to provide a glimpse of the depth and richness of al-Ṣādiq's teaching.

We might add that the 'scientific' aspects of al-Ṣādiq's teaching demand careful study, particularly in relation to early Shīʿī gnosticizing Alchemy of the school of Jābir b. Ḥayyān.

111. We mean by 'radical-dualism', not ontological dualistic principles, but simply radical (i.e. original) polarities in spiritual orientation.

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111. (cont.) The term is defined by Ugo Bianchi in his typological classification of various forms of Dualism: "Il Dualismo Come Categoria Storica-Religiosa" in Selected Essays on Gnosticism 49-62; see also his "Dualism, Religious" in Encyclopædia Britannica 15th ed., V, 1066-1070. For a very good example of al-Ṣādiq's 'radical-dualism', see the interesting myth of the seventy-five Powers (jund) of ʿAql and Jahl found in Barqī, Maḥāsin I 196-98; Kulaynī, Usūl I 20-23; and many other sources.

112. "Salman Pak" 476 n. 8. Nawbakhtī (Firaq 25) records that among the Karbiyyah, one of the early groupings of Ḥanifiyyah Shīʿah in the late first century, a certain Hamzah b. ʿAmārah al-Barbarī in Madīnah claimed that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah was God, and that he himself was Imām:

و انه ينزل عليه سبعة أسباب من السماء فيفتح بهنّ الارض و يملكها ...

(This Hamzah was condemned by al-Bāqir, and followed by Bayān b. Sam[illegible]ʿān.) Note the use of sabab in the description of Ghulāt teachings by Yunus b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. ca. 223), in Saʿd b. ʿAbdallāh al-Qummī, Maqālāt 62:

... فروح القدس باطنه والظاهر الجسم المضاف إليه المستعمل الذي هو نعت له في وقت حاجة الخلق إليه ، لانّه سَبَب ولا يدرك لطيفه إلّا لسبب معروف ، و من السبب يكون التسبُّب فسبب الولد من التسبُّب أي من البدن لا من الروح ، فروح القدس ساكن باطن ، و الظاهر الجسم المضاف إليه ...

In Basāʾir 6, we find a report from al-Sādiq which reveals a more developed notion of sabab: أبى الله أن يجرى الاشياء إلّا بالأسباب فجعل لكلّ سبب شرحاً و جعل لكلّ شرح علماً و جعل لكلّ علم باباً ناطقاً عَرفه من عرفه و جهله من جهله ذلك رسول الله ص و نحن.

Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī comments on the use of the term sabab in al-Ṣādiq's speech quoted above, p. 33 (Mirʾāt al-ʿUqūl

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112. (cont.) I, 157): ... السَبَب الحَبل وما يتوصّل به الى الشئ أي يجعل الله بينه وبين سماء المعرفة والقرب والكمال سبباً يرتفع به اليها من روح القدس و الإلهامات والتوفيقات ...

The ancient theme of a rope connecting earth and heaven (axis mundi) by which the Gods descend and the soul ascends, is treated by Mircea Eliade, The Two and the One (1965; rpt. Chicago, U. of Chicago Press, 1979 - originally published Paris, Gallimard, 1962, with the title Méphistophélès et l'Androgyne) 160-88, who notes (p.167): "The rope is considered the best means of reaching Heaven in order to meet the Gods. But it is no longer a possession common to humanity: it is only available to a limited number of the 'elect'." The idea of ascending to Heaven on a rope is met with in the Qur'ān: 22:15, 38:10, & also 18:84-92 (Alexander's journey to the ends of the earth).

113. The Holy Spirit (Rūh al-Quḍus) may perhaps be identified with the Great Angel (greater than Gabriel and Michael) who directs and assists the Imām and communicates or replenishes his 'Ilm; see e.g., Basā'ir 452: ... عن حَمران بن أعْيَن قال قلت لأبي عبد الله ع أنبياء انتم؟ قال لا قلت فقد حدّثني من لا اتّهم انك قلت انّا أنبياء ، قال مَن هوَ أبو الخطّاب؟ قال قلت نعم ، قال كنت إذا أهجر ، قال قلتم فبما تحكمون؟ قال: بحكم آل داود فاذا ورد علينا شئ ليس عندنا تلقّانا به روح القدس.

Most other reports on this matter which we have been able to examine in Ithnā 'Asharī sources, however, do not explicitly identify this Angel who fortifies and 'speaks' to the Imām with the Rūh al-Qudus; thus al-Ṣādiq explains Qur'ān 17:87— ". . . al-Rūh min Amr Rabbī"— by describing al-Rūh here as (Kulaynī, Usūl I 273-74): خلقٌ أعظم من جبرئيل و ميكائيل كان مع رسول الله و هو مع الأئمّة و هو من الملكوت.

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113. (cont.) (See al-Qummī, Tafsīr 388, 574, 606, 671, & 820, for al-Ṣādiq's interpretation of various Qur'ānic verses referring to Rūh al-Qudus.) One variant via the eighth Imām 'Alī al-Riḍá identifies the Holy Spirit with the Column of Light/'amūd min nūr; Ṣadūq, 'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍá (Qumm, Dār al-'Ilm, 1377/195/) 324. If the Rūh is to be equated with an archangelic visitation, it should be seen as expressing a specific function, namely prophecy and prophetic illumination; the fact that the prophets and Imāms are fortified by this Spirit is the raison d'etre of their 'Ismah/immunity from error.

This is clearly seen when we examine the teaching of the Five Spirits/arwāh distributed among three levels of men (see Baṣā'ir 445-450) attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and enunciated by both al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq. Without discussing this interesting scheme (the Five Spirits are distributed among three ranks of men: the ordinary man has three— the moving spirit, the sexual spirit, and the spirit of strength; the Mu'min or Believer has a fourth, the spirit of Faith; the prophets and Imāms have these four as well as a fifth, the Holy Spirit), we note what al-Ṣādiq says of the Prophet Muḥammad (Kulaynī, Usūl I 266): إن رسول الله ص كان مسدّدا موفّقاً مؤيّداً بروح القدس لا يزلّ ولا يخطئ في شئ مما يسوس به الخلق،

Now compare this what al-Ṣādiq explained to al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī concerning the Five Spirits, the fifth being the Holy Spirit (Baṣā'ir 454): ... و روح القدس فبه حمل النبوّة، فاذا قبض النبيّ ص انتقل روح القدس فصار في الإمام. و روح القدس لا ينام ولا يغفل ولا يلهو ولا يسهو، و الأربعة الأرواح تنام و تلهو و تغفل و تسهو، و روح القدس ثابت يرى به ما في شرق الارض وغربها و برّها و بحرها، ...

and what Ja'far said of his son Mūsá (interpreted by later Shī'ah as confirming the nass or Mūsá's designation to succession in Imāmah; Kulaynī, Usūl I 311): ... سألت أبا عبد الله ع عن صاحب هذا الأمر، فقال: إنّ صاحب هذا الأمر لا يلهو ولا يلعب، ...

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113. (cont.) (for the significance of Sāhib hādhā al-Amr in this report, see above, n. 106; and for other reports on Rūh al-Qudus see Basā'ir 451-54). If we connect these reports with Yunus 'Abd al-Raḥmān's description of Ghālī doctrines (Qummī, Maqālāt 62), we can better appreciate just why the ghulāt thought fit to usurp the rank of the prophet or the Imām:

. . . فروح القدس ساكن باطن ، والظاهر الجسم المضاف إليه فالذي يلهو ويأكل ويشرب وينام ويسقم ويألم هو الجسم وروح القدس لا يلهو ولا يألم ولا يولد .

The idea that the visitation of the Sakīnah necessitates the preservation of the Prophet from error and sin was spread by the Imāmī Shī'ah both as a term ('ismah) and a concept from ". . . at least since the first half of the 2/8 century" (W. Madelung, "'Iṣma" E.I.^{2} IV, 182-84, p. 182). E. Tyan points out that: "'Isma denotes also infallibility in the 'total knowledge of the meaning of the revelation and its prescriptions' and, consequently, in absolute authority for instruction. . . . In both meanings, 'isma was carried to its most extreme limits in the Shī'ī (ghulāt) doctrines from the time when they deified the imams, in varying degrees" (art. "'Iṣma" E.I.^{2} IV, 184). The connection with Sakīnah, the Fortifying Angel, and 'ismah is evident in the Shī'ī refutation of a Sunnī ḥadīth claiming that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb was aided by an Angel (... انّ السكينة تنطق على لسان عمر و كان ملكٌ بين عينيه يوفّقه ويسدّده. — quoted by al-Faḍl b. Shādhān Idāh 307-309; on which Sayyid al-Murtaḍá comments (al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍá, al-Shāfī fī al-Imāmah, as quoted by the editor of Idāh, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Urmawī, in his note to p. 308):

. . . فهو مقتض أن كان صحيحاً عصمة عمر والقطع على أن أقواله كلّها حجّة وليس هذا مذهب أحد . . .

The appropriate sections in Basā'ir (451-64) support the equation Fortifying Angel equals Rūh al-Qudus; yet the entire network of notions: Rūh, Malak al-Akbar, Ta'yīd, Muhaddath, 'Amūd min Nūr, etc., deserves separate treatment, both because of its complexity, its centrality for Imāmī Shī'ī spirituality, and the consequences it had for the

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113. (cont.) companions of al-Ṣādiq in their attempts to apprehend its significance in their religious experience. Such an investigation will have to glean scattered references in a wide variety of contexts to recapture one of the key aspects of al-Ṣādiq's teaching. See below n. 119.

114. The earliest and most comprehensive reports on this Light-Pillar or nimbus-like shaft of light between the Imām and Heaven are found in Baṣā'ir 431-43. This Column of Light (variously referred to as a pillar, a lighthouse, or a lamp/misbāh) is raised for the Imām either at his birth, or at the death of the Imām preceeding him. Baṣā'ir 432 (compare Qummī, Tafsīr I 215): [الصادق]: فإذا مضى الإمام الذي كان من قبله رفع لهذا منارا من نور ينظر به إلى أعمال الخلايق فبهذا يحتج الله على خلقه.

This Light-Pillar is the actual mechanism by which the function of God's Hujjah operates. An interesting variant (Baṣā'ir 439) depicts this 'amūd min nūr as a tube reaching from God to the ear of the Imām by means of which God's Will is revealed (see below n. 119, Imām as Muhaddath). This has a parallel in Judaic traditions of how Moses received the revelation in the Tent of Meeting/'Tabernacle': ". . . the revelations within the Tent of Meeting are said to have entered Moses' ear by a tube. Some passages describe the tube as fiery; another emphasizes the fact that the tube permitted direct communication from God to Moses, so that the angels could not 'listen in'." (B. J. Bamberger, "Revelations of Torah" 99). This theme of a Column of Light was popular in Christian ascetic and gnostic circles of the Near East, where the theme of Light ('flaming' monks), transfiguration (light-body of Christ), and baptism by fire merge into a whole group of symbols and beliefs revolving around the notion of the Holy Spirit, represented as flame, and the Light of Glory (Qamīs Adam: Adam's splendourous, shining garment in Paradise, lost but for our finger & toe nails); see M. Eliade, "Lumière Interieure" 222-27. H. Corbin sees in this Imāmī notion reminescent of docetic christology "une résurgence explicite du motif manichéen de la 'colonne de lumière' ('amūd al-Nūr) ou colonne de Gloire" ("De la Gnose Antique a la Gnose

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114. (cont.) Ismaćlienne" in Convegno di Scienze Morali Storiche E Filologiche Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma, 1957, p. 132).

Apparently Ja'far's grandson 'Alī al-Riḍá denied that the pure Spirit which aids and fortifies the mām was the Great Angel of the Holy Spirit, but instead identified it with the Column of Ligh'; see Ṣadūq, 'Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍá 324, and also Ṣadūq, al-Khiṣāl (Najaf, Ḥaydariyyah, 1971) II, 106:

. . . عن الرضا ع قال: إن الله عزّوجلّ أيّدنا بروح منه مقدّسة مطهّرة ليست بملك، لم تكن مع احد ممّن مضى إلّا مع رسول الله ص، وهي مع الائمّة منّا تسدّدهم وتوفّقهم، وهو عمود من نور بيننا وبين الله عزّوجلّ . . .

By the third century, this gnostic Shī'ī theme of the Light-Pillar surfaces in Ṣūfī circles with Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283), who links it with the notions of Muḥammadan Light and the 'Clay' of Adam; see L. Massignon, "Sahl al-Tustarī" E.I. IV, 63, & 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Daylamī, Kitāb 'Atf al-Alif al-Ma'lūf 'alá al-Lām al-Ma'tūf (Cairo, I.F.A.O., 1962, ed. J.-C. Vadet) 33.

115. We have seen that the Imām, as Ḥujjah, is in possession of all religious knowledge, being termed ma'din al-'ilm/'the source of knowledge', and is charged with its safe-keeping and preservation. As the wasī or wārith of the Prophet (i.e. his inheritor or trustee; his executor) the Imām shares equally with the Prophet his body of knowledge; thus al-Ṣādiq's claim that he possessed al-Jafr. The real importance of this for Imāmī Shī'ism can only be appreciated when we remember that Muḥammad was viewed as possessing knowledge unknown to earlier prophets, while his awsiyā'/'trustees' inherited not only the knowledge peculiar to Muḥammad, but the knowledge of all previous prophets, which they pass on to their Shī'ah. Thus, al-Ṣādiq declared that he was more knowledgeable than even Moses or Khaḍr, or that 'Alī had more 'Ilm than Christ (Basā'ir 127-29); see below p. 40. Other reports from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Basā'ir 208-211) express this idea by describing the Greatest Name of God (Ism Allāh al-A'zam)

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115. (cont.) as composed of seventy-three letters, of which Adam was given twenty five, Noah fifteen, Abraham eight, Moses four, Jesus two, whereas Muḥammad (and the 'Alid Imāms after him) received seventy-two; but God keeps one letter with him:

... وحرف في علم الغيب المكنون عنده ...، and ... واحتجب حرفاً لئلاّ يعلم ما في نفسه ويعلم ما نفس العباد.

(For the notion of 'ilm al-ghayb, see below n. 122.)

Several very interesting reports (Basā'ir 138-39 & 151-52) clearly distinguish between the two kinds of 'ilm represented by al-Jafr and by the 'ilm which the Imām receives continually direct from God. In one of these reports (Ibid., 152) Abū Baṣīr asks al-Ṣādiq about the secrets which Muḥammad taught 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; in reply, al-Ṣādiq mentions al-Jāmi'ah (the private explanations of the Prophet which 'Alī wrote down), and Abū Baṣīr exclaims:

... قلت: هذا والله هو العلم !

to which Ja'far replies: قال: انّه لعلم وليس بذلك. ...; and al-Ṣādiq goes on to mention al-Jafr (identified with 'ilm al-nabīyīn wa al-wasīyīn) and the Mushaf Fātimah (three times the size of the Qur'ān), after each of which Abū Baṣīr makes the same exclamation and receives the same response, until finally he is driven to ask Ja'far:

... قلت: جعلت فداك فأيّ شيء هو العلم ؟! قال: ما يحدّث بالليل والنهار الأمر بعد الأمر والشيء بعد الشيء إلى يوم القيمة.

(for this 'ilm which is continuous and on-going, ever occuring, see below p. 40f.).

116. We have not yet explicitly dealt with the notion of Walāyah peculiar to the Ḥusaynid Imāms, and we do not intend to start now, as this entire study may be taken as a sketch of this term. See however Corbin, Histoire de la Philosophie Islamique, index; and his "Sur la notion de 'Walāyat' en Islam Shī'ite" in Normes et Valeurs dans l'Islām Contemporain, ed. J. Berque & J. P. Charnay (Paris, Payot, 1966) 38-47. Corbin suggests that the term 'Initiation' seems to recapitulate best the implications of the word walāyat (The Man of Light in Iranian

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116. (cont.) Sufism, Boulder, Shambhala, 1978, p. 54 & 149 n. 52); 'Sanctity' is also close to the mark. It would be a mistake to separate nubuwwah from walāyah in the ideological realm of Shī'ī spirituality, particularly in relation to its historiosophy; for al-Ṣādiq the latter is the completion of the former. (See the remarks by Madelung and S. H. Nasr over whether the imāmate is a special form of prophecy, or if prophecy is essentailly a special form of the imāmate, for Ithnā 'Asharī Islām, "Imamism and Mu'tazilite Theology" in Le Shī'isme Imāmite 13-30, p. 29.) Yet it is also a mistake to conflate or merge the two, as the ghulāt were prone to do. In fact, the perception of the relation between nubuwwah and walāyah, their relative precedence or priority, may be taken as a major criterion for classifying various Imāmī Shī'ī currents of the first four centuries of Islām; to elevate the Imām/Sāmit above the Prophet/Nātiq, for example, distinguishes the more radical, more bātinī viewpoint from one more easily tolerated by the community at large. We should not ignore the fact that the more radical stance professes to take its cue from the legacy of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. The relative priority of these concepts lies at the heart of the difference between Ismā'īlī Shī'ism and Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism.

117. William A. Graham, Divine Word and Prophetic Word in Early Islam (the Hague, Mouton, 1977), stresses the 'open' understanding of revelation in the early period, with the accompanying unity of divine word and prophetic word. The early Muslim understanding of 'extra-Qur'ānic' revelation, allied with the belief in the Rasūl's esoteric knowledge, led to the establishment of the principle of continuing revelation or infallible guidance in Shī'ī Islām— consequently to the acceptance that revelation (ilhām) was granted to others besides the Prophet. See Ibid., 37 & 46 n. 99, for references to "al-muhaddathūn" in Sunnī literature.

118. Kulaynī, Usūl I 176-77; Basā'ir 316-28 & 368-74.

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119. The process of mystic inspiration/ilhām covered by the notion of Muhaddath, or the 'ilm al-hādith/'the knowledge of what is coming', is rightly described by al-Bāqir as an enigma (Baṣā'ir 234); indeed both he and al-Ṣādiq are depicted as often refusing to define the process of Ta'yīd for fear of being misunderstood (Baṣā'ir 388):

... عن سورة بن كليب عن أبي عبد الله ع ... الإمام بأي شيء يحكم ؟ قال بالكتاب ، قلت فما ليس في الكتاب ؟ قال بالسنّة قلت فما ليس في السنّة ولا في الكتاب ؟ قال (فقال بيده قد أعرف الذي تريد) : يُسَدَّد و يوفّق و ليس كما تظنّ .

and a similar report (Ibid.) ends with: ... و ليس حيث تذهب .

It is clear from our sources that certain Shī'ah drew 'dangerous' conclusions from this aspect of the Imām's teaching, elevating the Imām to the level of the Prophet (cf. above n. 113). Several of al-Ṣādiq's companions had to be assured that the Imām was not deceived by receiving the Devil rather than the Angel (Baṣā'ir 323, & Kulaynī, Usūl I 271):

عن محمد بن مسلم قال ذكرت المحدّث عند أبي عبد الله ع قال، فقال أنّه يسمع الصوت ولا يرى ، فقلت أصلحك الله كيف يعلم انّه كلام الملك ؟ قال انّه يعطى السكينة و الوقار حتّى يعلم أنه ملك .

(cf. also Baṣā'ir 319).

On the other hand, later Ithnā 'Asharī commentators found the ghālī overtones of an archangelic visitation embarrassing, and generally identified the Angel with Gabriel. According to al-Ṣādiq, both 'Alī and Salmān were Muhaddaths (Baṣā'ir 322), and he compares the Muhaddath with 'Āsaf ("ṣāhib Sulaymān"), al-Khaḍr, and Alexandar the Two-horned (Dhū al-Qarnayn) (Baṣā'ir 366); — or likens the revelation of the 'ilm al-Hādith to the revelation of the mother of Moses (ka wahyy Umm Mūsá; Baṣā'ir 317). The context of such statements makes it clear that such definitions were required so that his followers would not confuse the Imām with a Nabī or a Rasūl (e.g., Baṣā'ir 324). We come across some striking descriptions of the spiritual 'states' of the Imām in this context (the term hāl is not used, but the

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119. (cont.) appositeness of the Qur'ānic verse 8:24 "God cometh in (yahwul) between man and his own heart", is unmistakeable); thus the 'ilm al-hādith is likened to an engraving upon the heart, a scratching in the ear, or the tinkling sound of water dripping into a basin (Basā'ir 231-32):

[الصادق]: ... انّ منّا لمن يعاين معاينة و انّ منّا لمن ينقر في قلبه كيت وكيت. و انّ منّا لمن يسمع كما يقع السلسلة كلّه يقع في الطَست، قال قلت فالذين يعاينون ما هم؟ قال خلق اعظم من جبرئيل و ميكائيل.

... قلت كيف يزاد الإمام؟ فقال [الصادق]: منّا من ينكت في اذنه نكتاً و منّا من يقذف في قلبه قذفاً و منّا من يخاطب.

The variances in such reports may be quite natural; compare the following (Basā'ir 317):

... عن أبي عبد الله ع قال قلت له أخبرني عن الإمام اذا سئل كيف يجيب؟ فقال: إلهام أو سماع و ربّما كانا جميعاً.

Furthermore, we find similar statements reported from al-Ṣādiq as a rebuttal to al-Mahḍ's charge that the Ḥusaynid line has no Imām (Basā'ir 318). Concerning the link between al-Muhaddath and the Holy Spirit, note the report from al-Bāqir (Basā'ir 453):

... انّ الاوصياء محدَّثون يحدَّثهم روح القدس و لا يرونه و كان عليّ ع يعرض على روح القدس ما يسئل عنه فيوجس في نفسه ان قد أصبت بالجواب فيخبر فيكون كما قال.

Cf. below, n. 124, for the various kinds of 'ilm al-hādith.

120. See the remarks by H. Corbin, "De La Philosophie Prophétique en Islam Shī'ite" Eranos-Jahrbuch 31 (1962) 49-116, p. 67-80, on this hierarchy of revelatory experience among prophets and Imāms.

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121. This is a complicated subject, but important for early religious issues in Islām. Hodgson's comments ("Early Shī'a" 6-8) are significant for the notion of 'prophetism' among the Ghulāt:

> It is hardly surprising that the notion of prophecy as a recurrent (and not necessarily world-shaking) event should have survived the death of Muhammad. . . . So far as the Ghulāt raised problems of a more general nature regarding the spirituality of the soul and the possibility of communion with God, they no doubt contributed to the emotional tone of later Twelver and Ismā'īlī Shī'ism. However, in this respect their evident successors were the Sūfis.

See also: 'Abdallāh Fayyāḍ, Ta'rīkh al-Imāmiyyah 86-129, & Kāmil M. al-Shaybī, al-Silah bayn al-Tasawwuf wa al-Tashayyu' (Cairo, Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1969, 2nd ed.) 121-46. Also compare what Widengren, Muhammad 31-40 & 85-95, has to say on the 'Shī'ite Pretender'— the radical religious views of the ghulāt exponents who went the route from being a Shī'ah of an Imām, to self-ordination as Imām, to self-identification with God. At least from the time of al-Mukhtār's revolt (see above n. 36) the notion of an audited revelation from an Angel was put forward; we should recall as well that the Mushaf Fātimah contained in al-Jafr was said to have been orally revealed to the Prophet's daughter by an angel whose voice she heard, but whose form she did not see (Kulaynī, Usūl I 240; Basā'ir 157). An enigmatic report preserved in both Kulaynī (Usūl I 270) and al-Ṣaffār (Basā'ir 320), concludes a reference to the ta'wīl of the term muhaddath by noting: "This is what brought Abū al-Khaṭṭāb to ruin, for he didn't know the ta'wīl of 'Muhaddath' and 'Nabī'." The slightly later speculation of the ghulāt of the post-Ja'far era over the three divine hypostasis Mīm (Muḥammad), 'Ayn ('Alī), and Sīn (Salmān) stem from the diverse responses to this basic problem of 'prophetism' among the circles of the early Imāms (cf. e.g., Massignon, "Salman Pak"). Bearing in mind the flexibility of the notion of prophecy within such circles in early Islām, the idea of hearing, but not seeing, the Angel of revelation is undoubtedly part of the stock of Near Eastern religious tradition. E.g., the Arabic version of 'The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan' describes the condition of Adam after the fall

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121. (chap. LV:2-3):
(cont.)

> Then Adam, when he heard the Word of God, and the fluttering of the angels whom he did not see, but only heard the sound of them with his ears . . . [Adam says]: '0 Spirits, who wait upon God, look upon me, and upon my being unable to see you! For when I was in my former bright nature, then I could see you.' . . .
> (The Book of Adam and Eve, trans. S. C. Malan, London, 1882).

Linked with this issue of 'prophetism' are the emphasis on successive ranks or degrees in the religious hierarchy, the influential notion of tashakhkhus (spiritual personification of religious precepts leading to antinomianism), and the concern with the acquisition of prophetic knowledge or gnosis, among the ghulāt. See also the comments of M. Hodgson, The Venture of Islam (Chicago, U. of Chicago Press, 1974) I, 265, 266, 370, 374, & 379; and G. Van Vloten, Recherches sur la Domination Arabe, le Chiitisme et les Croyances Messianiques sous le Khalifat des Omayades (Amsterdam, J. Müller, 1894, Verhandelingen der Kon. Akad. Wetenschappen te Amsterdam), 40-51.

122. Basā'ir 109-113. Al-Bāqir specifies two kinds of 'Ilm with God: 'Āmm and Khāss, the former is given to the angels, prophets and Imāms, while the latter remains with God in the Umm al-Kitāb, thus only God is 'Ālim al-ghayb; (Ibid., 111). Another report on the authority of al-Ṣādiq (Ibid.) states: انّ لِلّه علماً علمه ملائكته و أنبيائه و رسله فنحن نعلمه ، و علماً لم يطّلع عليه أحد من خلق الله.

We can link this with al-Ṣādiq's understanding of the Throne and Footstool of God, the 'arsh representing the 'ilm given by God to the angels and prophets while the kursī represents the 'ilm al-ghayb which remains hidden with God (Ṣadūq, Ma'ānī al-Akhbār 29):

. . . عن المفضّل بن عمر قال : سألت أبا عبد الله ع عن العرش و الكرسيّ ما هما؟ فقال : العرش في وجه هو جملة الخلق و الكرسيّ وِعَاؤه ، و في وجه آخر العرش هو العلم الذي أطلع الله عليه أنبياءه و رسله و حججه ، و الكرسيّ هو العلم الذي لم يطلع الله عليه أحداً من أنبيائه و رسله و حججه ع.

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122. (cont.) Other reports, however, seem to suggest that this ʻilm al-ghayb may be given out; see ʻAyyāshī, Tafsīr II 216-18; Kulaynī, Usūl I 256 #2 (on badā'); & e.g., al-Bāqir's statement (ʻAyyāshī, Tafsīr II 216):

العلم علمان علم علمه ملئكته و رسله و أنبيائه ، و علم عنده مخزون لم يطلع عليه أحد يحدّث فيه ما يشاء .

Yet such reports may rather refer to the Imāms' notion of God's Badā' ('the emergence of new circumstances which cause a change in an earlier divine ruling'): that is, that ʻilm al-ghayb includes the hidden, incommunicable knowledge of God concerning His prior knowledge of when and whether He brings something to pass, even 'changing His mind'; cf. e.g., ʻAyyāshī, Tafsīr II 217:

[الباقر]: . . . و علم عنده مخزون يقدّم فيه ما يشاء و يؤخر ما يشاء و يمحو ما يشاء و يثبت ما يشاء .

The notion of Badā' is one of the central doctrines of the Ithnā ʻAsharī treatment of divine knowledge (unlike Sunnī Islām), and evidently takes its source from the teachings of the Imāms al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq.° "Two kinds of divine knowledge must be distinguished; ʻilm mahtūm, the unalterable knowledge the details of which God makes known to prophets and angels, and ʻilm makhzūn, the knowledge entrusted by God to no one, which concerns matters in suspense (umūr mawkūfa ʻind allāh). . ." (I. Goldziher & A. S. Tritton, "Badā'" E.I.^{2} I, 850-51). Cf. also Friedländer II 72; & Qur'ān 13:39, 14:11. As early as al-Mukhtār, the ghulāt taught Badā' as the mutability of God's will; does this fact indicate that they saw themselves in possession of ʻilm al-ghayb?

The identification of ʻilm with ʻarsh is significant for apprehending the mystery of the Imām, who besides being created from a Light-substance beneath the Throne is also depicted as one of the eight Throne-bearers (hamalat al-ʻarsh) on the Day of Resurrection (Kulaynī, Uṣūl I 132), i.e. the Imām 'bears' the ʻIlm/ʻarsh. For the early Imāmī position on God's Throne, consult Kulaynī, Usūl I 127f., 129-33; Ṣadūq, Tawhīd chaps. 49-51 p. 319-28; DeAngelis, "Collected Fragments" 213-16. The literal interpretation of Qur'ān 11:7— "and His Throne was upon the waters" & God was 'above' the Throne— is

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122. (cont.) rejected by al-Ṣādiq as circumscribing God (see Ṣadūq, Tawhīd 319 #1). Rather: "God bears his own act of knowledge (ʻilm) and that his religion (dīn) is the "waters" before the existence of creation'. . . After the generation of the heavens, earth and beings, the knowledge of God and His religion is borne by the Prophet, the Amīr al-Mu'minīn and the Imams" (DeAngelis, 214). Paul Kraus points out that in early Ismāʻīlī thought, as in the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' also, a distinction is made between the malāikah bi al-fiʻl who are the Throne bearers, and the malā'ikah bi al-quwwah who are identical with the Imām on earth ("Les Dignitaires de la Hiérarchie Religieuse Selon Ǧābir b. Ḥayyān" BIFAO 41 (1942) 83-97, p. 85 n. 1). Compare the report attributed to ʻAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (Kulaynī, Usūl I 129): God's Throne is described as the fourth created thing (after air (hawā'), the Pen (al-qalam), and the Light (al-nūr)) composed from four colored lights: red, green, yellow, and white. DeAngelis comments on this hadīth: "The Throne is the act of knowledge which God himself bears; it is the light of his majesty and all creation is subsequent. By the light of the Throne God sees (absara) the hearts of believers" ("Collected Fragments" 215; see also H. Corbin's treatment of this hadīth in "Réalisme et Symbolisme des Couleurs en Cosmologie Shīʻite" Eranos-Jahrbuch 41 (1972) 109-76, p. 140f.). In the hadīth cited, ʻAlī says of the white light: ... و نور أبيض منه أبيّض البياض وهو العلم الذي حمله الله الحملة و ذلك نورٌ من عظمته فبعظمته و نوره أبصر قلوب المؤمنين و بعظمته و نوره عاداه الجاهلون ...

Thomas J. O'Shaughnessy ("God's Throne and the Biblical Symbolism of the Qur'ān" Numen 20 (1973) 202-21) points out that the theme of 'throne-possessor' in the Qur'ān is linked, among other themes, to revelation (Ibid., 217-20), as well as involving the medium of revelation ('the Spirit from His command'). O'Shaughnessy, in stressing his opinion that this theme of the 'throne-possessor' derives from Rabbinic sources, does not mention its relation to prophetic ʻIlm outside of the revelation of the Qur'ān.

In any case, we find that the Ḥusaynid Imāms continually had to

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122. (cont.) condemn the views of some Shī'ah who attributed to them the 'ilm al-ghayb (e.g., Kashshī, Rijāl 298-99 # 530 & 531), al-Ṣādiq vehemently denying that he knew the number of drops of rain, stars, or leaves on the trees. The Yamani Zaydī al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasani (d. 246) is quoted by Friedländer (II 105-106) as commenting on this idea of the omniscience of the Imām:

و كلّ من قال بجعفر من الروافض يزعم أن الإمام يُخلَق عالماً وطبعه العلم والعلم مطبوع فيه و يزعمون أن الإمام يعلم الغيب ويعلم ما في تخوم الأرَضين السابعة السُفلى وما في السموات السابعة العليا و ما في البَرّ والبحر والليل والنهار عنده مَجرىً واحداً

(cf. also Strothmann, Staatsrecht 68 n. 1). Those who attributed such knowledge to the Imām included some who deified him as a living God (such as the Nāwūsiyyah; Qummī, Maqālāt 80 & 212). Mūsá al-Kāẓim relates that al-Bāqir said: "When knowledge is opened for us we know, and when it is withdrawn, we do not know", and emphasized that only God knows that which is hidden (Kulaynī, Usūl I 256 #1).

We should emphasize the delicacy of this problem, for we are not clear whether the 'ilm al-ghayb (as a technical term in Imāmī Shī'ism) may not also include the 'Ilm which is communicated via audition to the Imām by the Angel. Widengren appears to equate 'ilm al-ghayb with the secret knowledge possessed by the Imām as an inheritance from the Prophet, and taught to his closest disciples (Muhammed 87, where Widengren refers to T. Andrae's work Die Person Muhammeds 302f., supporting his view by noting that the Imām's divine knowledge reaches him by an emanation (fayd) from God, not from books or received traditions). It is true that al-Ṣādiq dismisses the knowledge of the Torah, the Injīl, Psalms, the Tablets of Moses, etc., which are inherited from Muhammad and the Prophets, as not real 'Ilm in comparision with the 'ilm al-hādith ('the knowledge of what is coming') which is audited day by day, hour by hour (Kulaynī, Usūl I 224-25). Again, Ja'far says of 'Ilm (Basā'ir 324-25):

انّما العِلم ما حدث بالليل و النهار يوم بيوم و ساعة بساعة ،

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122. (cont.) and another hadīth makes clear the excellence of gnosis over all other religious knowledge (Basā'ir 394-95):

. . . عن هشام بن سالم قال قلت لأبي عبد الله ع : كلام سمعته عن أبي الخطّاب ، فقال : أعرضه عليّ قال فقلت : يقول انّكم تعلمون الحلال و الحرام و فصل ما بين الناس ، فلمّا أردت القيام أخذ بيدى فقال ع : يا محمد [sic] علم القرآن و الحلال و الحرام يسير في جنب العلم الذى يحدّث في الليل و النهار .

See also Basā'ir 318-19 & Kulaynī, Usūl I 264, for al-Ṣādiq's classification of the three types of 'ilm possessed by the Imām, the most excellent being 'ilm al-hādith (quoted below, n. 124).

123. We could speak, in vague terms, of his 'message' or, in a sense more dogmatic than spiritual, of his mission. But to underline the fact that he is there for a purpose, that he has something to do, an exacting task to accomplish, immediately gives us the possibility of a different understanding. For many of the Shī'ah, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq not only had a precise role to play in a particular context, but, in the long run, he was seen as the embodiment of the role itself. The Imām is one with his function; rather, he is the function, the function made man. What makes the Hujjah is not only his power to transmit the truth he himself has received, it is also the fact that there are those who await him, who belong to him, who are made of his 'clay'/ṭīnah.

124. Basā'ir 318: مبلغ علمنا ثلثة وجوه ماض و غابر و حادث ، فامّا الماضى فمفسّر و امّا الغابر فمزبور و امّا الحادث فقذف في القلوب و نقر في الاسماع و هو افضل علمنا و لا نبيّ بعد نبيّنا !

Compare similar statements which appear to delineate a definite set of degrees within this third category of

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124. 'ilm al-hādith: e.g., Basā'ir 318-19 & Kulaynī, Usūl I 264: (cont.)

. . . [الصادق]: إنّ علمنا غابرٌ و مزبورٌ و نكتٌ في القلوب و نقرٌ في الاسماع ، فقال [أبو الحسن = موسى الكاظم بن جعفر الصادق]: أمّا الغابر فما تقدّم من علمنا ، و أمّا المزبور فما يأتينا ، و أمّا النكت في القلوب فإلهامٌ ، و أمّا النقر في الاسماع فأمر الملك .

125. Baṣā'ir 127; the import of this assertion may refer to the notion of al-Imām al-mustamirrah and his continuing or presently occurring authority in history, as well as being aimed at Jewish and Christian visitors to convice them of the superiority of seeking knowledge from a living exponent of revelation than from the written or oral legacy of past prophets. Al-Ṣādiq likens the act of knowing by the 'knowledge of what is coming'/'ilm al-hādith to reading a book (Ibid., 127):

. . . و الله أني لأعلم ما في السموات وما في الأرض و ما في الجنّة و ما في النار وما كان وما يكون إلى أن تقوم الساعة ، ثم قال : أعلمه من كتاب انظر إليه هكذا ثم بسط كفّيه ثم قال : ان الله يقول « إنّا أنزلنا إليك الكتاب فيه تبيان كلّ شئ » [Q 16:89].

This may simply be a reference to al-Jafr; cf. however, the following note.

126. Kulaynī, Usūl I 253-55; and Basā'ir 130-31: [الصادق]: . . . انّ لنا في ليالي الجمعة لشأناً من الشأن ، . . . يؤذن لأرواح الأنبياء الموتى و أرواح الأوصياء الموتى و روح الوصيّ الذي بين ظهرانيكم يعرج بها الى السماء حتى توافي عرش ربّها فتطوف بها اسبوعا و يصلّي عند كلّ قائمة من قوائم العرش ركعتين ثم ترد الى الأبدان

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126. (cont.) التي كانت فيها فتصبح الأنبياء والأوصياء قد ملئوا وأعطوا سروراً ويصبح الوصيّ الذي بين ظهرانيكم وقد زيد في علمه مثل جَمّ الغفير!

See Widengren, Muhammad 214f., for the significance of the theme of ascension and the imparting of heavenly secrets.

It is instructive to note that the rāwī who reports most of these, and other similar traditions connected with the descent of the Angels and the Rūh on Laylat al-Qadr is al-Ḥasan b. al-'Abbās b. al-Ḥuraysh al-Rāzī, a companion of Abū Ja'far al-thānī (i.e. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mūsá, 'al-Jawād', the ninth Imām) who compiled a book entitled Kitāb " Inna Anzalnāhu fī Laylat al-Qadr " (Najāshī, Rijāl 48, who condemns al-Ḥasan as a transmittor of distorted reports). In Baṣā'ir 222-23, several of the hadīths explain in their isnāds that al-Ḥasan b. Ḥuraysh showed his book to al-Jawād, which consisted of a collection of al-Ṣādiq's hadīths on the subject of al-Rūh and Laylat al-Qadr, and that the Imām certified its authenticity and gave it his approval. For other fragments of Ibn Ḥuraysh's book, see also Kulaynī, Usūl I 242-53 and Basā'ir already given above, as well as Basā'ir 280 & 442. One of his reports depicts al-Ṣādiq describing the process of 'ilm al-hādith in the book-simile we met with above (Basā'ir 223-24):

. . . عن الحسن بن عباس بن حُريس أنّه عرضه [يعني عرض كتابه على الجواد] على أبي جعفرعم فاقرّبه قال: " فقال أبوعبد الله ع انّ القلب الذي يعابن ما ينزّل في ليلة القدر لعظيم الشأن ، " قلت وكيف ذلك يا أباعبد الله ؟ قال: " ليشقّ والله بطن ذلك الرجل ثمّ يؤخذ إلى قلبه ويكتب عليه بمداد النور فذلك جميع العلم ثمّ يكون القلب مُصْحَفاً للبصر ويكون اللسان مترجماً للأذن إذا أراد ذلك الرجل علم شئ نظر ببصره وقلبه فكانّه ينظر في كتاب ، " قلت له بعد ذلك: وكيف العلم في غيرها أيشقّ القلب فيه

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126. (cont.) أم لا ؟ قال: « لا يشقّ لكنّ الله يلهم ذلك الرجل بالقذف في القلب حتى يخيّل الى الأذن انّه تكلّم بما شاء الله علمه والله واسع عليم . »

127. Baṣā'ir 232, 130; Kulaynī, Usūl I 254-55:
[الصادق]: . . . لولا أنّا نزداد لأنفدنا . / . . . انّا لنزاد في الليل والنهار ولو لم تزد لنفد ما عندنا .

128. The motif of Love for the Prophet's Family and Hate for their enemies is met with frequently in Ja'far's teaching, and ties in with a number of other facets of his thought. Al-Ṣādiq once asked of his disciples which tie of faith was the strongest, and they proposed duties such as jihād, prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, etc., all of which he dismissed as lesser than Love for God's sake and Hate for God's sake, quoting the Prophet (Barqī, Mahāsin I 165):

[الصادق]: . . . قال رسول الله ص : إنّ اوثق عرى الإيمان الحبّ في الله والبُغض في الله ، توالى وليّ الله وتعادى عدوّالله .

And Ja'far tells al-Mufaḍḍal b. 'Umar al-Ju'fī what accrues to the believer when he 'realizes' the Love of Ahl al-Bayt in his heart (Ibid., I 61): . . . مَن أحبّنا اهل البيت وحقّق حبّنا في قلبه جرى ينابيع الحكمة على لسانه ، وجدّد الإيمان في قلبه وجدّد له عمل سبعين نبيّاً و سبعين صديقاً و سبعين شهيداً وعمل سبعين عابداً عبد الله سبعين سنة .

Love, being established in the heart (qalb) of the Mu'min, represents the strongest power of man; see Ṣadūq, Sifāt al-Shī'ah (Tehran, Shams, 1342?) 73: [الصادق]: ان في المؤمن ثلاث خصال لم تجتمع إلّا فيه ، علمه بالله عزّوجلّ ، وعلمه بمن يحب ، وعلمه بمن يبغض ، (وقال ع) ان قوّة المؤمن في قلبه . . .

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128. (cont.) and Ibid., 74: [الصادق]: ... ان المؤمن لو قتل ثمّ نشر ثمّ قتل لم يتغير قلبه ..

Cf. also Barqī. Mahāsin I 262-67, "Bāb al-Hubb wa al-Bughd fī Allāh". In another context, Love and Hate are treated as essential principles of primal 'substance' or matter; see the references to imtizāj al-tīnatayn above, n. 110(b).

129. The 'Ilm so central to al-Ṣādiq's spiritual ideology can be termed 'gnosis'— cf. the definition of Gnostic 'knowledge' given by Hans Jonas (The Gnostic Religion, Boston, Beacon, 1963, 34-35)— for the mythological core of his teaching, pregnant with revelatory experience of a supra-rational nature, charges 'knowledge' with a function in the perfection of both man and the world. The Qur'ānic conception of 'ilm already betrays a gnostic basis; see F. Rosenthal, Knowledge Triumphant (Leiden, Brill, 1970) 23-28. About the implications which these observations raise concerning the ties of archaic Muslim gnosis with the Gnostic traditions of the Middle East, Fritz Meier notes ("Methods of Approach" in Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization, Chicago, 1955, 38-46, p. 42):

> So far it has not been possible to trace the idea of incarnation of the extreme Shī'a to Christianity or to Mazdaism. . . . The mutual contact of the three religions reduces, upon closer inspection, to the idea of the god-man and to the identification of the divine with the light, that is, to a number of basic gnostic notions which occur now in this, now in that, shape and which, even if some elements may have spread by external transmission, must have been fed on the whole from internal sources.

130. We have used the phrase: "an incarnation of consciousness" (see above p. 39), fully aware of the inappropriateness of the implications of 'incarnation', and the risk of its being misconstrued. Perhaps 'embodiment' or 'personification' would be more to the mark. Corbin prefers the terms 'divine epiphany' or 'theophany' (zuhūr, tajallī); "Face de Dieu" 166. Yet we could point to the notion found in al-Ṣādiq and his father of the heavenly 'drop of dew', or the celestial drink

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130. (cont.) of sweet water (mā' al-muzan), that produces the spermatic conception of the Imām; see Baṣā'ir 431-32 & 438-39; Qummī, Tafsīr I 215; and 'Ayyāshī, Tafsīr I 374. The notion of divine 'Ilm is interwined with those of Light, the Holy Spirit, and Intelligence/'Aql.

131. Cf. H. Corbin, "Philosophie Prophétique", for one treatment of this philosophical and perennial function of the Imām, without which Shī'ism would tend to become simply a fifth 'school' of Islamic law. See also Kulaynī, Usūl I 10-29, "Kitāb al-'Aql wa al-Jahl" for general orientation. According to this point of view, one can either assimilate the Imāms to the Logos, or on the contrary, distinguish them from it; here we have the dilemma of Ghālī Islām. It would be fair to say that for al-Ṣādiq, the Imām is identified with the Logos, but the Logos is not identified with this or that Imām. We shall not expand these observations any further, since we hope to study this fundamental aspect of Ja'far's teaching in detail in another work.

132. For the notion of ma'rifat al-Imām, see Kulaynī, Usūl I 180-85; Ṣadūq, Tawhīd 285-91.

133. Ṣadūq, Tawhīd 290. See also Ibid., 285-86, & Kulaynī, Usūl I 85 #1, where Ja'far quotes a saying of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib:

. . . أعرفوا الله بالله و الرسول بالرسالة و أولى الأمر بالأمر بالمعروف و العدل و الإحسان .

Al-Kulaynī (Usūl I 85) comments on this aphorism, deriving important consequences for Tawhīd/God's Unicity from it, and showing how the Ithnā 'Asharī traditionists elaborated theology out of the seed of the Imām's hadīth:

معنى قوله ع : اعرفوا الله بالله ، يعنى أنّ الله خلق الأشخاص و الألوان و الجواهر و الأعيان ، فالأعيان الأبدان ، و الجواهر الأرواح ، و هو عزّوجلّ لا يشبه جسماً و لا روحاً ، و ليس لأحد في خلق الروح الحسّاس الدرّاك أمرٌ و لا سببٌ ، هو المتفرّد بخلق الأرواح و الاجسام ، فإذا نفى عنه الشبهين : شبه الأبدان

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133. (cont.) و شبه الأرواح فقد عرف الله بالله ، و من شبّهه بالروح أو البدن أو النور فلم يعرف الله بالله .

Kulaynī evidently refutes here the views of Ghulāt thinkers who spoke of God as the Holy Spirit (cf. above n. 112), and also the early materialism of the Imāmī Shī'ī speculative thinkers around al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim such as Hishām b. al-Ḥakam who conceived of God as an 'entity' (jism/body) of light (see above n. 96).

134. Thus he who does not 'know' his Imām, his worship is not accepted by God. See al-Bāqir's statement in Kulaynī, Usūl I 183:

كلّ من دان الله عزّوجلّ بعبادة يجهد فيها نفسه ولا إمام له من الله، فسَعْيُهُ غير مقبول و هو ضالّ متحير . . .

(note the use of the verb dāna). Compare what al-Ṣādiq tells 'Umar b. Ḥanẓalah (Barqī, Maḥāsin I 168):

. . : قلت [عمر بن حنظلة] : من صلّى وصام وعبد الله قبل منه ؟ قال : انّما يتقبل الله من المتّقين العارفين ، ثمّ قال : أنت أزهد في الدنيا أم الضحّاك بن قيس ؟ قلت : لا بل الضحّاك بن قيس ، قال : فانّ ذلك لا يتقبّل منه شيء ممّا ذكرت .

(al-Ḍaḥḥāk b. Qays, or al-Aḥnaf b. Qays, was a respected Tābi'ī known for his piety and forebearance who actively supported the Zubayrid revolt, and as a close friend of Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr was delegated to Kūfah when the latter was governor there; he died in Kūfah, either in 67 or 64; Ibn Sa'd, Ṭabaqāt V 27-29 & VII/i 66-69).

This sentiment, besides being consonant with the disparagement of asceticism for the sake of asceticism (without 'Ilm) common to al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq, and al-Kāẓim, takes as its cue the Qur'ānic verse 5:27 - "God accepts only from the righteous" (Abel's reply to Cain). Thus, al-Ṣādiq understands by Ma'rifat al-Imām the true guidance/al-Hudá provided to the beleiver via the recognition and acceptance of the Walāyah/'spiritual authority' of the Imām. Hudá, however, is the fourth of four 'gates' to the knowing of God, being the knowledge of the Ḥujjah, and the other three are not rightly established except

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134. (cont.) through this fourth; see Kulaynī, Usūl I 181-83, where al-Ṣādiq provides an outline of all this with concise comprehensiveness:

. . . إنكم لا تكونون صالحين حتّى تعرفوا ولا تعرفوا حتّى تصدّقوا ولا تصدّقوا حتّى تسلّموا أبواباً أربعة لا يصلح أوّلها إلا بآخرها، ضلّ اصحاب الثلاثة . . . إنّ الله تبارك وتعالى أخبر العباد بطرق الهدى وشرع لهم فيها المنار وأخبرهم كيف يسلكون، . . . وقال: « إنّما يتقبل الله من المتقين » [Q 5:27]، فمن اتقى الله فيما أمره لقى الله مؤمناً بما جاء به محمد ص، هيهات هيهات! فات قومٌ وماتوا قبل أن يهتدوا وظنوا أنهم آمنوا وأشركوا من حيث لا يعلمون، . . . إن الله قد استخلص الرُّسُل لأمره، ثمّ استخلصهم مصدِّقين بذلك في نُذُره، فقال: « وإن من أمّة إلّا خلا فيها نذير » [Q 35:22]، تاه من جهل واهتدى من أبصر وعقل، إن الله عزّوجلّ يقول: « فإنها لا تعمى الأبصار ولكن تعمى القلوب التي في الصدور » [Q 22:46]، وكيف يهتدي من لم يبصر! وكيف يبصر من لم يتدبّر! . . .

We cannot discuss the role of 'Aql in the process of ma'rifat al-Imām and of Guidance in this study.

135. See e.g., Kulaynī, Usūl I 184. We cannot deal with the meaning and importance of these terms here; we mention them only to put flesh on the bones of al-Hudá.

136. Two reports about al-Bāqir serve to illuminate the depth of meaning assigned to ma'rifat al-Imām; al-Bāqir says to one of his visitors: "When one of you sets off on a journey of some parsangs distance, he seeks a guide/dalīl for himself, yet you are more ignorant about the paths of Heaven than about the paths of Earth, so seek for yourself a Guide!" (Kulaynī, Usūl I 184). And al-Bāqir asks one of his close

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136. disciples, Abū Baṣīr, "Do you know your Imām?", to which Abū Baṣīr replies, "Yes, by God, even before I left Kūfah [I 'knew' my 'Imām']", and al-Bāqir concludes, "Then you know enough" (Ibid., 185).

137. Baṣā'ir 55; Kylaynī, Rawḍah I 56.

138. Baṣā'ir 8; Kulaynī, Usūl I 33-34. Ja'far defines the 'Ālim/Imām further as ('Ayyāshī, Tafsīr I 164):

نحن الراسخون في العلم فنحن نعلم تأويله .

(a reference to the controversial verse of the Qur'ān 3:7, which the Ḥusaynid Imāms glossed as referring to themselves as the possessors of the inner meaning of the Holy Book). Concerning the term 'Ālim applied to the Imām by al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, it is possible that it may reflect a particular understanding of the wise man as thaumaturge or Magus current in certain parts of Arabia; see e.g., the story of al-Ṣādiq's debate with a Yamanī Magus (Baṣā'ir 401):

. . . عن أبان بن تغلب قال : كنت عند أبي عبد الله ع فدخل عليه رجل من اهل اليمن فقال : يا أخا أهل اليمن عندكم علماء ؟ قال نعم ، قال : فما بلغ من علم عالمكم ؟ قال : يسير في ليلة مسيرة شهرين يزجر الطير

[another version of this report (Ibid., 401) has:

. . . انه ليسير في ليلة واحدة مسير شهرين يزجر الطير . . .

ويقفوا الأثر . فقال أبو عبد الله ع : عالم المدينة أعلم من عالمكم ، قال : فما بلغ من علم عالم المدينة ؟ قال : يسير في ساعة من النهار مسيرة شمس سنة حتى يقطع اثنى عشر ألف مثل عالمكم هذا ، ما يعلمون ان الله خلق آدم ولا إبليس ! قال : فيعرفونكم ؟ قال : نعم ما أفترض عليهم إلا ولايتنا والبرائة من عدونا .

The reputation of the wise men of Yaman was well established in early Islām; see Ṭabarsī, Iḥtijāj II 64-66, for al-Bāqir's disputation with Ṭā'ūs al-Yamanī to see who was the wiser.

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139. Kulaynī, Rawdah II 31: [الصادق]: إنّ الناس طبقات ثلاث: طبقة هم منّا و نحن منهم، وطبقة يتزيّنون بنا و طبقة يأكل بعضهم بعضاً.

140. Furāt, Tafsīr 209; Barqī, Mahāsin I 143.

141. See the references cited above in the preceding note, esp. the hadīth in Furāt p. 208-209 which consists of a series of beautitudes enjoyed by the Shī'ah. The notion of the Mu'min being light is important; al-Ṣādiq employs the image of the stars in the night-sky (Kulaynī, Rawdah II 147): ... أنتم والله نور في ظلمات الأرض والله إن أهل السماء لينظرون إليكم في ظلمات الأرض كما تنظرون أنتم إلى الكوكب الدرّيّ في السماء وإن بعضهم ليقول لبعض: يا فلان عجباً لفلان كيف أصاب هذا الأمر...

Compare this with the report preserved in Ṣadūq, Sifāt al-Shī'ah 78: ... عن أبي عبد الله ع انه سُئِلَ عن أهل السماء هل يرون أهل الأرض؟ قال ع: لا يرون إلّا المؤمنين لأن المؤمن من نور كنور الكواكب، قيل: فهم يرون أهل الأرض؟ قال ع: لا، يرون نوره حيث ما توجه،

The ahl al-samā' here may be identified with the angels. Other reports speak of the Imāms as stars which guide in the darkness of the earth (cf. the title of one of the books in al-Barqī's al-Mahāsin: "Masābīh al-Zulm" I 191-296); see also Kulaynī, Rawdah II 106; Qummī, Tafsīr I 211, which identifies the nujūm of Qur'ān 6:97 with Āl Muḥammad.

Another widely held notion was the comparision of Muḥammad to the sun, 'Alī to the moon, and the Imāms to the stars; see e.g., Kulaynī, Rawdah II 345; & Maxime Rodinson, "La Lune chex les arabes et dans l'Islam" p. 206, in Sources Orientales V (Paris, Éditions du Seuil, 1962, 153-215). The Mu'min's light essence is due to his sharing the same 'substance'/ṭīnah with the Imām (see above, n. 110(b))—

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141. (cont.) and such consubstantiality takes the heart as its locus; cf. al-Bāqir's statement to Abū Khālid al-Kābulī (Kulaynī, Usūl I 195):

. . . يا أبا خالد النور الإمام في قلوب المؤمنين أنور من الشمس المضيئة بالنهار وهم الذين ينوّرون قلوب المؤمنين ويحجب الله نورهم عمّن يشاء فتظلم قلوبهم ويغشاهم بها.

142. See the interesting reports where al-Ṣādiq overrides the protestations of some of his companions that he has thousands of followers by lamenting that he wishes there were even a few tens of true Shī'ah; Kulaynī, Uṣūl II 242f.:

. . . عن سدير الصيرفي قال: دخلت على أبي عبدالله ع فقلت له: والله ما يسعك القعود، فقال: ولم يا سدير؟ قلت: لكثرة مَوَاليك وشيعتك وأنصارك . . .

and Sadīr goes on to claim that Ja'far has over one hundred thousand supporters, implying thereby that the Imām should not hesitate to mount a revolt; al-Ṣādiq replies that if he only had seventeen Shī'ah he would not be 'sitting'. Compare Ṣadūq, Sifāt al-Shī'ah 56-57:

. . . عن المفضّل بن قيس عن أبي عبد الله ع قال: كم شيعتنا بالكوفة؟ قال قلت: خمسون ألفاً، قال: فما زال يقول حتّى قال: أترجو أن يكونوا عشرين ثم قال ع: والله لوددت أن يكون بالكوفة خمسة وعشرون رجلا يعرفون أمرنا الذى نحن عليه ولا يقولون علينا إلّا بالحقّ.

We must be wary of deducing from such reports any estimate of the followers of al-Ṣādiq, not only because they are typical examples of Arabic hyperbole, but also because of the varying connotations of the terms employed: ansār, mawālī, shī'ah, which carried one set of significances for the community at large, and may have a more technical significance within the circles of the Imām. We can see this very well in Ja'far's understanding of the term Shī'ah; for his notion of the mawālī, see below p. 45. Note the implication of the second hadīth, namely— the untrustworthiness of the Kūfan Shī'ah.

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142. (cont.) Abū al-Ṣabāḥ al-Kinānī (whose name was Ibrāhīm b. Nu'aym, d. after 170; Najāshī, Rijāl 16) is reported to have told al-Ṣādiq (Kashshī, Rijāl 255 #474): . . . إنّا نعيّر بالكوفة فيقال لنا جعفريّة ! قال فغضب أبوعبد الله ع ثمّ قال : انّ أصحاب جعفر منكم لقليل ، انّما أصحاب جعفر مَن اشتدّ ورعه وعمل لخالقه .

(It is difficult to identify this group of Kūfans nicknamed the 'Ja'fariyyah'— were they the group who rebelled in Kūfah shouting "labbayka ya Ja'far labbayka . . ." (Friedländer II 107, who identifies them with a group of mawālī from the Mughīriyyah); or with one of the Khaṭṭābī factions who considered al-Ṣādiq to be God, e.g., the Bazīghiyyah or the 'Umayriyyah?).

143. See e.g., Mufīd, Ikhtisās 143, for al-Ṣādiq's description of the Mu'min in terms of various ethnic groups: المؤمن هاسميٌّ لأنّه هشم الضلال والكفر والنفاق ، والمؤمن قرشيٌّ لأنّه أقرّ للشيء ونحن الشيء وأنكر لاشيء الدلام وأتباعه ، والمؤمن نبطيٌّ لأنه استنبط الأشياء فعرف الخبيث من الطيّب ، والمؤمن عربيٌّ لأنّه أعرب عنّا اهل البيت ، والمؤمن أعجميٌّ لأنّه أعجم عن الدلام فلم يذكره بخير والمؤمن فارسيٌّ لأنّه يفرس في الإيمان لو كان الإيمان منوطاً بالثريّا لتناوله ابناء فارس يعني به المتفرّس فأختار منها أفضلها وأعتصم بأشرفها وقد قال رسول الله ص : أتّقوا فراسة المؤمن فإنّه ينظر بنور الله .

Cf. Ṣadūq, Ma'ānī al-Akhbār 403-405. The mention of "Nabaṭī" is suggestive, especially with regard to the role of the mawālī in early Shī'ism. "In the Muslim period the Arabs called those inhabitants of Syria and of the Iraq, who were neither shepherds nor soldiers, 'Nabataeans' . . ., a term also applied in a somewhat contemptuous tone to the Aramaic-speaking peasants" (E. Honigmann, "Nabataeans" E.I. III, 801-802, where it is also noted that the Nabataeans were

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143. (cont.) pure Arabs, who used Aramaic as their written and commercial language.) Two reports from al-Ṣādiq show in what manner he countered the prevailing Arab prejudice against the Nabataeans (Ṣadūq, Ma'ānī 144 & 404):

سأل رجل اباعبد الله ع فقال : إنّ من قبلنا يقولون:
نعوذ من شرّ الشيطان وشرّ السلطان وشرّ النبطيّ إذا إستعرب.
فقال. نعم ، إلّا أزيدك منه؟ قال بلى ، قال: ومن شرّ
العربيّ إذا إستنبط . فقلت : وكيف ذلك ؟ فقال: من دخل
في الاسلام فادّعا مولىً غيرنا فقد تعرّب بعد هجرته فهذا
النبطيّ إذا إستعرب ، وأمّا العربيّ إذا إستنبط فمن أقرّ بولاء
من دخل به في الإسلام فادّعاه دوننا فهذا قد إستنبط .

... عن أبي عبد الله ع قال قلت له : ما يزال الرجل ممن ينتحل
أمرنا يقول لمن منّ الله عليه بالاسلام: « يا نبطيّ ! » ، قال
فقال ع : نحن اهل البيت والنبطيّ من ذرّية إبراهيم إنما هما
نبطان من النبط الماء والطين وليس بضارة في ذرّيته شيء ،
فقوم إستنبطوا العلم فنحن هم .

144. Ṣadūq, Ma'ānī 158.

145. "He who is well-born, of honorable descent"; or possibly referring to the notion that the mu'min's conception and birth are free from any satanic influence (since al-Ṣādiq, like his father, taught that the Devil can be a partner in human conception, fathering wicked souls; thus an etiquette for sexual intercourse was elaborated— see e.g., 'Ayyāshī, Tafsīr II 218, 299-300). Cf. Barqī, Maḥāsin I 138-41, "Bāb Tayyib al-Mawlid", for the connection with the Love of Ahl al-Bayt.

146. Namely, those belonging to Persian families of the highest nobility; see "Ahl al-Buyūtāt" E.I.^{2} I, 258. T. Fahd (Ğa'far aṣ-Ṣādiq et la

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146. (cont.) Tradition Scientifique Arabe") has made much of the importance of the Persian Mawālī in the circles around al-Ṣādiq.

147. Basā'ir 67: [الصادق]: انّ أمركم هذا أعرض على الملائكة فلم يتربّه إلّا المقرّبون وعرض على الأنبياء فلم يقرّبه إلّا المرسلون وعرض على المؤمنين فلم يقربه إلّا المحتحنون.

It should be clear that al-Ṣādiq includes among his true Shī'ah only those of his supporters who share in the task of the Amr which the Imām is charged with. The Amr upheld by the Imām and his true Shī'ah thus conforms to the amānah entrusted to Man by virtue of the Mīthāq from pre-eternity (see Qur'ān 33:72)— a trust capable of being fulfilled only by the best among the chosen beings; al-Bāqir (Basā'ir 26) affirms: . . . إلّا ترى إلى صفة أمرنا انّ الله اختار له من الملائكة مقرّبين ومن النبيّين مرسلين ومن المؤمنين محتحنين.

Connected with this is the notion expressed by Ja'far identifying this Amr as his Dīn/'religion' (or: 'debt', 'obligation') and the Dīn of his spiritual forefathers. See e.g., Ṣadūq, Fadā'il al-Shī'ah (Tehran, Shams, 1342?) 39-40: . . . عن عمر بن حنظلة قال قال ابوعبد الله يا عمر إنّ الله يعطي الدنيا من يحب ويبغض ؛ ولا يعطي هذا الأمر إلّا صفوته من خلقه، أنتم والله على ديني ودين آبائي إبراهيم وإسماعيل لا أعني عليّ بن الحسين ولا الباقر ولو كان هؤلاء على دين هؤلاء.

We should not fail to mention another important feature bearing on Ja'far's interiorisation of his notion of 'Shī'ah', namely that al-Ṣādiq expressly forbade his Shī'ah to 'advertise' his cause or in any way to propagandize his Amr, not even to invite their relatives, children or neighbours to join the Imām's task— see: Barqī, Mahāsin I 200-203 & 231-32; Kulaynī, Usūl II 212-14; Ṣadūq, Tawhīd 415; and al-Ṣādiq's letter to his companions given in Kulaynī, Rawdah I 2-21.

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147. (cont.) (also see above, n. 106). A scrutiny of these reports will bear much fruit relating to Ja'far's spiritual ideology; we will refrain from dealing with them here and content ourself with emphasizing that they are fundamental for apprehending the notions of Kitmān and of Ghaybah as understood by al-Ṣādiq. We can link this with Ja"far's notion of Dawlat al-Haqq or Dawlat al-Anbiyā' wa al-Awsiyā' (the Government of God, or Truth, where the Faithful worship openly), opposed to Dawlat al-Bātil or Dawlat li-Iblīs (the 'reign of illusion' or the Government of the Devil, where the Faithful must worship in secret and in fear & in which the Imām is 'hidden' or 'covered' (mustatir); cf. 'Ayyāshī, Tafsīr II 106; Kulaynī, Usūl I 333f.; & Mas'ūdī, Ithbāt 14. We see in these reports both a political commentary, and a subtle psychology.

148. Abdulaziz Sachedina, "A Treatise on the Occultation of the Twelfth Imāmite Imam" Studia Islamica 48 (1978) 109-124, p. 110. Among examples of this attitude, we may quote Joseph Schacht (Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence 262): "The alleged origins of Shī'a literature in the Umayyad period, and in particular the works on religious law ascribed to the Shiite Imam Ja'far Ṣādiq, are apocryphal."; and F. Rosenthal's comment on Ithnā 'Asharī hadīth literature (Knowledge Triumphant 91): "No certain date can be assigned to its origin. Its ascription to the Imams cannot be maintained, since this would mean that much of what is known elsewhere in Islam clearly as the result of later developments was anticipated by them. Moreover, the available manuscripts, unless they are forgeries, are as a rule too recent to give positive support to a very ancient origin of the works transmitted in them. It is less clear, however, when the oldest necleus of this literature first found written expression and how far back individual writings have to be dated." On the other hand, compare W. Madelung's reservations about Schacht's opinion (Imām Qāsim 46f.), Jafri's comments ("Legitimist Shī'ism" 260f.), and R. Strothmann's cautioning (S.E.I. 535): "We must not place the origin of their hadīths too late, since some are as early as Du'alī." Madelung admits that the early hadīth literature of Shī'ism ultimately

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148. (cont.) rests on a core of materials stemming from figures such as al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq (Qāsim 46-47). Again, Sachedina ("Occultation" 110) observes: "To the historian of religion this so-called 'traditional' material is of great value, and careful examination and evaluation of it is indispensable if one is to detect the different stages in the evolution of any doctrine . . ."

149. Hodgson, "Early Shī'a" 13, who points out "that the imamate of Ja'far and his line captured for itself much of the zeal of the Ghulāt, at the same time drawing in time its worst fangs . . . It is perhaps this as much as anything else that gave the line of Ja'far its ultimate preeminence as the line of Imāms par excellence." See also the references given above, n. 121. Jafri, Origins 300-304, while recognizing the significance of the ghulāt circles in Kūfah whose traditions "ascribing supernatural and superhuman characteristics to the Imāms . . . crept into the Shī'ī literature" (Ibid., 303), attempts to absolve al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq from any responsibility for such teachings: ". . . the ghulāt or semi-ghulāt were attributing their own thoughts to the Imāms and that the Imāms were not responsible for these statements" (Ibid., 304); & ". . . both al-Bāqir and Ja'far clearly denied that they possessed supernatural powers and discounted the miracles attributed to them. It is thus most unlikely that Ja'far was personally responsible for all those fantastic descriptions of the supernatural character of the Imāms which were circulated in his name by his semi-ghulāt followers in Kūfa" (Ibid., 303). Yet we feel that the problem is more complex than Jafri would have it, without denying that al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq took great pains to protect themselves from mis-representation or unwanted disclosures. The observation of DeAngelis is closer to the evidence of our sources: "The currency of the perdurance of the spiritus of the imams and the prophets is well attested to in early Imamite literature . . . and also the consubstantiality of the spiritus of the imam with the divine. . . . The idea of monopsychism and the intermediate status of man seems current to early Imamite (non-extremist) groups" ("Collected Fragments" 164-65).

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150. Mentioned by Hodgson ("Early Shī'a" 13) and Jafri (Origins 304) as evidence of apocryphal traditions foisted upon al-Ṣādiq by the ghulāt; for the texts which they refer to see Kashshī, Rijāl 224 #401, & 225 #402:

. . . عن هشام بن الحكم انه سمع ابا عبد الله ع يقول :
كان المغيرة بن سعيد يتعمد الكذب على أبي ، و يأخذ كتب أصحابه
وكان أصحابه المستترون بأصحاب أبي يأخذون الكتب من أصحاب
أبي فيدفعونها إلى المغيرة فكان يدسّ فيها الكفر و الزندقة
و يسندها إلى أبي ثمّ يدفعها إلى أصحابه فيأمرهم أن يثبتوها
في الشيعة ، فكلّما كان في كتب أصحاب أبي من الغلوّ فذلك
ما دسّه المغيرة بن سعيد في كتبهم.

And similarly the first of these two reports in Kashshī, via Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (known as 'Ṣāḥib Al Yaqṭīn', a mawlá of 'Alī b. Yaqṭīn and chief pupil of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam who transmitted Hishām's teaching to the later traditionists of Qumm, also a rāwī of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍá; d. ca. 223):

. . . قال يونس : وأفيت العراق فوجدت بها قطعة من أصحاب
أبي جعفر ع و وجدت أصحاب أبي عبد الله ع متوافرين فسمعت
منهم و أخذت كتبهم ، فعرضتها من بعد على أبي الحسن الرضا ع
فانكر منها أحاديث كثيرة إن يكون من أحاديث أبي عبد الله ع
و قال لي : انّ أبا الخطّاب كذب على أبي عبد الله ع لعن الله أبا
الخطّاب ! و كذلك أصحاب أبي الخطّاب يدسّون هذه الأحاديث
إلى يومنا هذا في كتب أصحاب أبي عبد الله ع . . . .

(Compare the verses of Abū Hurayrah al-'Ijlī about al-Mughīrah and al-Bāqir given by al-Wāqidī— De Goege, Fragmenta Historicorum Arabicorum I 230:

و قال ابو هريرة العجليّ وكان من شيعة الباقر :

أبا جعفرٍ أنتَ الإمام نُحِبُّهُ و نَرْضَى الذى تَرْضَى به ونُبَايِعُ

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150. (cont.) أتتنا رجالٌ يحملون عليكم أحاديث قد ضاقت بهنّ الأضالع

أحاديث أفشاها المغيرة عنكم وشرّ الأمور المحدثات البدائع .

we are unable to locate any information on this companion of al-Bāqir.) Yūnus' report is very interesting, not only for showing the attitude of al-Riḍá towards the legacy of his grandfather's radically speculative companions in Iraq, but also as a possible reference to the ghulāt circles of Kūfah within Imāmī Shī'ism in the late second century; perhaps the offspring of Khaṭṭābī movements such as Mukhammisah circles, or even proto-Nuṣayrī groupings.

Now there is no doubt that al-Ṣādiq is reported to have condemned in strong terms certain exponents and groupings who 'adopted' or arrogated to themselves his teachings (Kashshī, 297 #528):

انّ من ينتحل هذا الأمر لمن هو شرّ من اليهود و النصارى و المجوس و الذين أشركوا .

or who twisted and distorted his hadīths, or who disclosed or revealed teachings meant to be kept secret and guarded from those not capable of understanding them (cf. Kashshī, 396 #741, & 238-39 #433). Ja'far insists that he is not the Imām of such persons, and reserves the right to deny what they report from him if they can't be trusted to uphold its secrecy (this being one of the tests of who is a true Shī'ah, see al-Ḥimyarī, Qurb al-Isnād 52); thus (Kashshī, 301 #539):

[الصادق]: قوم يزعمون انّي لهم إمام ، والله ما أنا لهم بإمام ، ما لهم لعنهم الله ، كلما سترت ستراً هتكوه ، هتك الله ستورهم ، أقول كذا ، يقولون انما يعني كذا ، انما أنا إمام من اطاعني .

and Basā'ir 479:

. . . ما أجد من أحدّثه و لا انّي أحدّث رجلاً منكم بالحديث فما يخرج من المدينة حتّى أوتى بعينيه فأقول لم أقله .

We find al-Ṣādiq warning his followers to be wary about whom they take

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150. their hadīths from; e.g., Kulaynī, Usūl I 32:
(cont.)

. . . فانظروا علمكم هذا عمّن تأخذونه ، فإنّ فينا أهل البيت في كلّ خلف عدولاً ينفون عنه تحريف الغالين و انتحال المبطلين وتأويل الجاهلين.

Although Hodgson holds that the process of a formal disciplining of the Ghulāt begins with Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, ". . . chiefly in response to the anti-Shī'ī reaction under al-Manṣūr" (Venture of Islam I 262 n. 7), we must not ignore the many indications that al-Bāqir as well took care to excommunicate or condemn various ghulāt exponents (vide al-Mughīrah, Bayān, or Hamzah al-Barbarī; see above n. 112), or even that Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, or rather his son al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad, condemned the anti-nomian trend of the Ghulāt al-Kaysāniyyah in al-Mukhtār's following in Kūfah (W. al-Qāḍī, "Term Ghulāt" 300).

However, we want to stress not so much the fact that the process of apocryphal attribution probably occurred during the lifetime of al-Ṣādiq himself, but that these reports take for granted the existence of written records of al-Bāqir's and al-Ṣādiq's teachings compiled by their companions during the Imāms' lifetimes. In addition to the reports found in Kashshī which Hodgson and Jafri have noticed, we should also note a number of reports referring to the notebooks of the companions of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq whose contents are given the blessings of later Imāms; e.g., in Kulaynī, Usūl I 52-53:

. . . عن المفضّل بن عمر قال: قال لي أبو عبد الله ع : اُكتب وبثّ علمكم في إخوانك فإن متّ فأورث كتبك بنيك فإنّه يأتي على الناس زمان هرج لا يأنسون فيه إلا بكتبهم .

. . . عن محمد بن الحسن بن أبي خالد شَيْنُولة قال: قلت لأبي جعفر الثاني ع : جعلت فداك إنّ مشايخنا رووا عن أبي جعفر و أبي عبد الله عليهما السلام و كانت التقيّة شديدة فكتموا كتبهم فلن تروى عنهم فلمّا ماتوا صارت الكتب إلينا، فقال : حدّثوا بها فإنّها حقّ.

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150. (cont.) (see also: Kulaynī, Usūl I 50; Basā'ir 222 & 408; Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār, Tathbīt Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah (Beirut, Dār al-'Arabiyyah, 1386/1966, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uthmān) I 129; and Kashshī, Rijāl 499 #956— where Hishām b. Ibrāhīm al-Mashriqī al-'Abbāsī (a follower of Yūnus b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and the Āl Yaqṭīn) and his father Ibrāhīm are accused of holding heterodox views (zandaqah) by the group surrounding 'Alī al-Riḍá following the death of Mūsá al-Kāẓim; Ibrāhīm al-Mashriqī responds to his accusers: "the earlier teachings of your fathers (the Imām's) are collected in a work entitled Kitāb al-Jāmi', which is derived from those who spoke in dialectical discourses" in the period before 'Alī al-Riḍá. DeAngelis describes this report as one: ". . . that attests to the survival of the earlier literary tradition and teachings" ("Collected Fragments" 37 n. 20).

151. N. Abbott, Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri (Chicago, U. of Chicago Press, 1957) I 107, who links Shī'ī literary activity with the 'Alid revolts and propaganda; & Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, Ta'sīs al-Shī'ah li-'Ulūm al-Islām (al-Kāẓimiyyah, 1951). Although al-Ṣadr's work may strike some as apologetic, there is substance to his contention that the Shī'ah pioneered in many fields of literary endeavour.

The period represented by the Imāms al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim, which coincided with the disintegration of Umayyad authority, the 'Abbāsid revolution, and the start of Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign in 170, marked a period of relative security for Shī'ism and for the propagation and spread of the teachings of the Ahl al-Bayt that was accompanied by a corresponding literary activity. Such considerations were probably instrumental for the dominating role which these three Imāms of the Ḥusaynid line clearly played in the elaboration of Shī'ī doctrines. It is noteworthy that Abū al-Faraj al-Isfahānī, writing in 313/925, regrets the lack of information on the later 'Alids and their activities in contrast to the wealth of materials available in and from the earlier period; Abbott, Papyri I 107. Concerning the attitude of the early Shī'ah to written transmission of knowledge, we must recall that al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq upheld the validity of 'book' knowledge (vide— al-Jafr); we know that liberal scholarship was attacked by

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151. (cont.) the more conservative because of the very patronage of the warrāq or book-dealer (Abbott, I 24-25), which we know al-Ṣādiq was noted for (see above p. 29). This is implied in Abū Ḥanīfah's mocking Ja'far as rajul suhufī, an insinuation that al-Ṣādiq borrowed his teaching from written, not oral sources (see above, n. 77).

152. The question of the kutub al-usūl has not received series attention in secondary studies of Shī'ī literature (but see Jafri, "Legitimist Shī'ism" 260, who points out that both al-Kulaynī and Shaykh al-Ṣadūq claim to have used these 'books' as their sources for their writings), and beyond doubt deserve a critical study. Consult the following for basic information on this: Ḥusayn Khurāsānī, Maktab-i Tashayyu' dar Sayr-i Tarīkh (Tehran, Muḥammadī, 1341 shamsī) 139f.; Āghā Buzurg Ṭihrānī, al-Dharī'ah 'ilá Tasānīf al-Shī'ah (Najaf, al-Ghurī, 1355) II, 125-67; Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Imām, "Dawrah-i Āghāz Fiqh wa Fiqhā-yi Imāmiyyah" 12-16, in Yādnāmah-i Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah . . . Ṭūsī (Mashhad, Mashhad U. Press, 1348/1970) I, 11-38; F. Sezgin, GAS I 532-537; Muḥammad Taqī Dānish Pazhūh, Fihrist-i Nuskhāh-ha-yi Khaṭṭī-i KitābKhānah-i Dānishkadah-i Huqūq . . . (Tehran, U. of Tehran, 1961) 246-49 #182J; & M. T. Dānish Pazhūh, Fihrist . . . Mishkāt ba-KitābKhānah-i Tihrān (Tehran, U. of Tehran, 1335) III/3, 1088-96 #962.

153. Y. Eche, Les Bibliothèques Arabes Publiques et Semi-publiques en Mesopotamie, en Syrie et en Egypte au Moyen Age (Damascus, I.F.D., 1967) 164-65.

154. Thus Āghā Buzurg defines this genre of literature of the Asl book (Dharī'ah II 126), and he proceeds to list over one hundred of the ashāb al-usūl (Ibid., 135-67), references to whose 'books' are culled from Ithnā 'Asharī Rijāl, Fihrist and Ḥadīth works. F. Sezgin (GAS I 532-37) mentions thirteen of these Asl works extant in two Mss. in Tehran (see above, n. 152, for the references to the catalogues of the libraries of the U. of Tehran). To our knowledge, only E. Kohlberg has made use of these sources in his studies of Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism; see his "An Unusual Shī'ī isnād" Israel Oriental Studies V (Jerusalem,

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154. (cont.) Tel Aviv U., 1975) 142-49, esp. 145 n. 19 & 147. (The Mishkāt Ms. of these thirteen extant works, Ms. # 962 ff. 1-74, although dated 1192 A.H., is copied from an original dated 374, relayed by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qummī from Abū Muḥammad Hārūn b. Mūsá al-Tall'akbarī, who apparently collected these thirteen Aṣl productions together.)

We wonder whether some of the Aṣl productions were more than mere 'notebooks' of reported or orally-received teachings and sayings of the Imāms, but also teaching manuals which could be best understood only if accompanied by tutorial explanations? In any case, the oral tradition existed side by side with any written tradition, if not like two sides of a coin.

155. Dharī'ah II 131-32. Āghā Buzurg's massive bibliographical study of Shī'ī literature, a modern day Ibn al-Nadīm, contains numerous references to the Aṣl compositions scattered throughout the twenty plus volumes published to date; he also claims that some of the Aṣl treatises are still preserved in certain private libraries of Iraq and Iran.

156. For the Ithnā 'Asharī point of view, see Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, al-Shī'ah wa Funūn al-Islām (Beirut, Dār al-Ma'rifah, n.d.). These three Imāms taken together are responsible for well over 75% of all the ḥadīths found in Ithnā 'Asharī writings (cf. G. Lecomte, "Aspects de la Literature du Ḥadīt chez les Imāmites" in Le Shī'isme Imāmite 91-103, p. 97-98). More to the point are the early Rijāl and Fihrist collections of the Ithnā 'Ashariyyah, who allot the preponderant place to the companions of al-Ṣādiq and their compositions; see below, n. 159.

157. We have not been able to discuss the important issue of the contribution of Kūfah and its religious and cultural make-up in the formation of Shī'ī streams of thought, esp. during the era of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, but should point out its relevance for an appreciation of Imāmī Shī'ī spirituality, particularly ghulāt teachings. From the caliphate of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib until the start of the third century, Kūfah was intimately involved with every phase of Shī'ī developments, and it

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157. (cont.) is clear that the circles of disciples of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq who had most to do with the preservation and transmission of their teaching had Kūfah as their center. During the first half of the second century, Kūfah was always in close touch with Madīnah, but with the establishment of Baghdād in 145 the centers of Shī'ī traditionists began to diversify. By the third century the focus of Shī'ī circles of learning had shifted from Kūfah to Qumm (which still maintained its links with Kūfah), the eastern provinces (e.g., Nīsābūr & the school of al-Faḍl b. Shādhān, d. 260; Samarqand & the school of al-'Ayyāshī; as well as smaller centres in Khurāsān and TransOxiana which were fairly independent of Qumm); and possibly the Karkh quarter of Baghdad. The fourth and fifth centuries saw the heyday of Ithnā 'Asharī learning in Baghdad and Rayy under the Buwayhid Amīrs. It was only when Shaykh al-Ṭūsī left Baghdad in 448 and settled in Najaf with many of his students, that the latter place assumed real importance as an intellectual and doctrinal center for Shī'ism, and later al-Ḥillah as well. It is instructive to follow the careers of representative and influential Shī'ī authors to appreciate the roles each of these centers played in the development of Ithnā 'Asharī dogma, theology and tradition selection. Cf. W. Ivanow, Ibn al-Qaddah 11-12, for some preliminary remarks on early Shī'ī literary tradition. It is not our intention to summarize the various tendencies each of these centers represented (e.g., the strong reaction of the traditionist school of Qumm against the Mu'tazilī inclinations of the Nawbakhtīs in Baghdad); see W. Madelung, "Imāmism and Mu'tazilite Theology" in Le Shī'isme Imāmite 13-30; & Martin J. McDermott, The Theology of Al-Shaikh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022) (Beirut, Dār al-Mashriq, 1978). The relevance of all this to the kutub al-usūl is simply that the genesis of Shī'ī literary tradition takes us back to Mesopotamia and the Kūfah of the second century.

158. Aghā Buzurg, Dharī'ah II 132; and his Musaffá al-Maqāl fī Muṣannifī 'Ilm al-Rijāl (Tehran, Chāpkhānah-i Dawlatī-i Irān, 1378/1959) passim., for the sparse details known on this first wave of biographical writings among the Shī'ah, almost all of which has not survived, except for the

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158. (cont.) Rijāl of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī (d. 274 or 280), (Tehran, U. of Tehran Press, 1342/1383). The compilation of Rijāl works in the early years of the third century points to a well established tradition of received ḥadīths which must have occurred during the course of the second century. Bear in mind that after al-Rashīd imprisoned the seventh Imām Mūsá al-Kāẓim for the second time in 179, the remaining Imāms of the Ḥusaynid line (with the exception of ʿAlī al-Riḍá) did not enjoy the same unrestricted access to their followers as did al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim.

159. Ivanow (Ibn al-Qaddah 12) comments: "A most interesting and somewhat strange fact to be observed with regard to Shi'ite works, both in Western libraries and also in various private collections in Persia and elsewhere, is the scarcity of remains of the older literature. . . . This is strange in the light of the lists of the early period which contain hundred and thousands of different compositions." Ivanow refers here to the bibliographical listings of al-Najāshī (d. 450) and Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah al-Ṭūsī (d. 460), which give the titles of well over 6,000 works. It is to be regretted that many of the bio-bibliographical writings of the Ithnā 'Ashariyyah and other Shī'ī groups of the third and fourth centuries have not survived, e.g., al-Kulaynī's Rijāl, and especially the work of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn 'Uqdah (249-333, a Zaydī Jārūdī) which was reportedly devoted solely to the biographies of four thousand trustworthy rāwīs who related from al-Ṣādiq (see Āghā Buzurg, Muṣaffá al-Maqāl 19-21). The work of Abū 'Amr Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Kashshī (or: al-Kishshī, d. 328, a pupil of al-'Ayyāshī), Ma'rifat al-Nāqilīn, is a gold mine of information on the companions of the Imāms and their teaching, but only survives in the abridgement of Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah al-Ṭūsī with the title Ma'rifat al-Rijāl (al-Ṭūsī relates his summary of Kashshī via al-Tall'ukbarī, d. 385). Kashshī was later attacked by the traditionists for weak riwāyah, in which certain persons charged with ghuluww are included, probably because he used the early material which the school of Qumm rejected (in this, Kashshī follows his teacher al-'Ayyāshī); cf. the comments by the editor of the excellent Mashhad edition, Ḥasan al-

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159. (cont.) Mustafawī, who attempts to explain on what basis al-Ṭūsī revised Kashshī's work— p. 18f. of his introduction. Al-Najāshī completed his useful work Ma'rifat 'Ilm al-Rijāl (also known as al-Rijāl or al-Fihrist) soon after 436 (Ivanow, Ibn al-Qaddah 22 n. 10). The Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadīm, written ca. 377, also contains valuable material on Shī'ī literature, but is different in scope. Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah al-Ṭūsī composed both a Rijāl (Najaf, Ḥaydariyyah, 1381) and a Fihrist (Najaf, Ḥadariyyah, 1380, 2nd ed.); and the sixth century work of Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588), Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā' (Tehran, Faridīn, 1353, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl) serves as a completion to al-Ṭūsī's works, while also preserving material not found elsewhere. (On al-Ṭūsī and his Fihrist see Sprenger's preface to his Bibliotheca Indica: K. Fihrist Kutub al-Shī'ah (Calcutta, 1853, ed. A. Sprenger & Mawlawy 'Abd al-Ḥaqq); and E. G. Browne's valuable discussion of biographical authorities in his A Literary History of Persia (Cambridge, Cambridge U. Press, 1959) IV 355-58. The dominating role of al-Ṣādiq in Shī'ī ḥadīth is due partly to the wide circle of persons whom he addressed; e.g., out of the 62 pages of the printed text of Barqī's Rijāl, over 30 pages (p. 16-47) are devoted to listing more than a thousand companions of al-Ṣādiq who related traditions from him, some mentioned as composing books (e.g., Yaḥyá b. 'Umrān al-Ḥalabī, p. 23); and in the 403 pages of the printed text of the Najaf edition of al-Ṭūsī's Rijāl, 200 pages (p. 142-342) list 3219 persons who related from al-Ṣādiq.

160. The critical study of the formation of the earliest extant Shī'ī ḥadīth collections (we include the available tafsīr, fiqh, and semi-historical productions whose contents are but various selections and arrangements of Imāmī traditions) has been neglected for too long. Clearly the elaboration of this earliest strata of specifically Ithnā 'Asharī literature is tied to historical circumstances, most importantly the occultation of the twelfth Imām in 260. The most important comprehensive collection of Imāmī ḥadīths of this early period is undoubtedly al-Kulaynī's al-Kāfī fī 'Ilm al-Dīn, compiled during the period of the ghaybat al-sughrá or the shorter occultation.

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160. (cont.) Kulaynī (d. 328) lived in Bāb al-Kūfah in the Darb al-Salsalah in Baghdad, where he was buried, and drew most of his material from the traditionists of Qumm, as well as Khurāsān. His al-Kāfī consists of about 16,200 traditions (compare this with the 7,397 traditions in the Sahīh of al-Bukhārī). Although Kulaynī's major work is usually referred to as 'authoritative', many reservations about its contents have been expressed by later Ithnā 'Asharī scholars (Strothmann, SEI 537: ". . . of over 16,000 hadīths on the usūl and furū' chapters, 5072 are considered 'sound' by later authorities, 140 'good' and 1118 as 'established', 302 as 'strong' and 9488 as 'weak' . . ."); cf. also Sayyid Muḥammad Kāẓim Imām, "Dawrah-i Āghāz Fiqh" 29, for similar counts. Kulaynī's opus has also served as one of the most popular bases for later spiritual 're-appropriations' of the inner significance of the Imāms' teachings in a number of extensive commentaries (see GAS I 540-42). For the traditional studies on al-Kāfī, Kulaynī's rāwīs & isnāds, and his selection of material, see e.g., the references given by Muḥammad Bāqir Kamara'ī in the introduction to his persian translation & commentary of al-Kāfī (Tehran, Maṭba'at al-Islāmiyyah, 1382); also see the careful and timely work of the Lebanese scholar Hāshim Ma'rūf al-Ḥasanī, Dirāsāt fī Al-Kāfī li al-Kulaynī wa al-Sahīh li al-Bukhārī (Tyre, Lebanon, Maṭba'at Ṣūr al-Ḥadīth, 1388). The very succession of book titles and chapter headings within each book of al-Kāfī are instructive indices to the state of Ithnā 'Asharī teaching in Kulaynī's time; thus the Usūl min al-Kāfī opens with the "Kitāb al-'Aql wa al-Jahl".

We are fortunate indeed to possess printed editions of several earlier writings which served Kulaynī as his major sources from which he selected his material, allowing us to partially determine what he chose to include and what he dropped for a certain number of subjects. These precious remnants of an earlier stage of Shī'ī literature include: Kitāb al-Mahāsin of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī (d. 274 or 280), of which only a few of its seventy-plus books are extant, the majority being lost; the extremely interesting, even unusual, compilation of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Farrūkh al-Ṣaffār ('the coppersmith', d. 290), replete with valuable materials on the 'Ilm of the Imāms;

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160. (cont.) the Tafsīr of ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim al-Qummī (d. shortly after 307), which draws most of its material from al-Ṣādiq, but also contains large parts which were apparently inserted into al-Qummī's work by his pupil from the famous Tafsīr al-Bāqir related by Abū Jārūd Ziyād b. al-Mundhir (cf. Dharīʿah IV 302-309); and Qurb al-Isnād by ʿAbdallāh b. Jaʿfar al-Ḥimyarī (d. ca. 300). All these authors drew much of their material from traditionist circles mainly centered in Qumm, itself the heir of the early Kūfan school. At the same time we possess other early works, e.g., the Tafsīrs of al-ʿAyyāshī (d. late third century; a prolific writer whose house in Samarqand was a center of Shīʿī learning; see B. Lewis, E.I.^{2} I, 794-95) and of Furāt b. Ibrāhīm b. Furāt al-Kūfī (d. ca. the first decade of the fourth century), whose works may preserve more of the early material of the early Kūfan circles which the later Qumm school felt uncomfortable with. We cannot but regret the loss of works such as al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq's massive Madīnat al-ʿIlm, reputed to have been larger than his Man Lā Yahduruhu al-Faqīh, and which was often considered as the 'fifth' to the Four Books of the Ithnā ʿAshariyyah, for which Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī spent large sums of money in searching for (Dharīʿah XX 251-53). (We do not include al-Faḍl b. Shādhān's al-Idāh in this group of early Shīʿī extant writings, for the reason that he expressly draws solely from Sunnī ḥadīths for polemical purposes; while the book of Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī (possibly originally entitled Kitāb al-Saqīfah) deals with the division in the early community, and is largely drawn from the reports of ʿAlī's companions such as Salmān al-Fārisī; despite Ithnā ʿAsharī apologetics which consider Sulaym's book to be a third century ghālī fabrication, parts of it are certainly archaic, see the references given below, n. 162.)

Nevertheless, Kulaynī has epitomized and systematized most that was normative for Ithnā ʿAsharī tradition chiefly as taught by the Qumm school by the end of the third century. It is strange that scholars have not devoted more attention to this work (see e.g., the brief note by G. Vajda, "Apercu sur le K. At-Tauhid d'al-Kulini" Acta Orientalia 12 (1961) 231-34). Ivanow notes of al-Kāfī: ". . . one of the most interesting and valuable documents of early mediaeval

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160. (cont.) life in Islam, replete with precious information both concerning Shī'ism and generally the life, folklore, legal customs and ideas, and cultural evolution of those times" (Ibn al-Qaddah, 9; cf. p. 9-23: "Al-Kafi and its author"). His estimate is fully justified in our own experience.

161. We emphasize the large body of traditions shared in common by different branches of Shī'ism assuming definitive shape from the latter half of the third century onwards, Ithnā 'Asharī, Ismā'īlī, Nuṣayrī, etc., stemming from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq; we could include in this 'common denominator' various neo-ghulāt trends such as the Mukhammisah, the Qarāmiṭah or the gnostic circles of Jābirian alchemy. But the thrust of our remark is directed primarily at Ṣūfī traditions stemming from these two Imāms, as represented for example by the veneration in certain Ṣūfī circles of the fourth century paid to the Tafsīr of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq; see Paul Nwyia, Exègese Coranique et Language Mystique (Beirut, Dār al-Mashriq, 1970) 156-208; Nwyia, "Le Tafsīr Mystique attribué a Ǧa'far Ṣādiq" MUSJ 43 (1968) 181-230; 'Alī Zay'ūr, Tafsīr al-Ṣūfī li al-Qur'ān 'ind al-Ṣādiq. Dr. Gerhard Böwering of the University of Pennsylvania is preparing a critical edition of al-Ṣādiq's mystical Tafsīr as known in Ṣūfī circles; he cautions against identifying the Ithnā 'Asharī Ja'far-Tafsīr-Tradition with the Ṣūfī Ja'far-Tafsīr-Tradition (private communication of Sept. 10, 1979). This is an area which promises to yield important results.

162. See the comments of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nu'mānī (Kulaynī's secretary) in his Kitāb al-Ghaybah 47, where he refers to the Aṣl book of Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī (d. 95, mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm as the oldest Shī'ī work; on the authenticity of Sulaym's book, see I. Goldziher, Muhammadan Studies (Chicago, G. Allen & Unwin, 1971, ed. & trans. S. M. Stern) II, 24; Dharī'ah II 152-59; & Sachedina, "Mahdiism" 94, 98) in the course of rebutting Ismā'īlī claims of only seven Imāms; & Ṣadūq, Ikmāl al-Dīn wa Itmām al-Ni'mah 19, who in discussing the notion of ghaybah, which he wants to limit to the occultation of the twelfth Imām, notes the references to ghaybah in the Aṣl books:

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162. (cont.) . . . فليس أحد من اتباع الأئمّة ع إلّا و قد ذكر ذلك في كثير من كتبه و روايته ، و دوّنه في مصنفاته ، وهي الكتب التي تعرف بالأصول مدوّنة مستحفظة عند شيعة آل محمد من قبل الغيبة بما ذكرنا من السنين ، . . . إن الأئمّة ع قد أخبروا بغيبته ع و وصفوا كونها لشيعتهم فيما نقل عنهم ، و استحفظ في الصحف و دوّن في الكتب المؤلفة من قبل أن تقع الغيبة بمائتي سنة او أقل و اكثر ،

Cf. also Dharī'ah II 126-30, for references to the comments of Ithnā 'Asharī authors about the Asl books.

Najāshī (Rijāl 274-75) reports an interesting bit of information about the cause of Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh b. Ja'far al-Ḥimyarī (the son of al-Ḥimyarī, author of Qurb al-Isnād) becoming the author of a number of works, such as Kitāb Iblīs wa Junūduhu:

قال محمد بن عبد الله بن جعفر : كان السبب في تصنيفي هذه الكتب انّي تفقدت فهرست كتب المِسَاحَة التي صنفها أحمد بن أبي عبد الله البرقي [صاحب كتاب المَحَاسِن] و نسختها و رويتها عمن رواها عنه و سقطت هذه السنة الكتب عني فلم أجد لها نسخة فسألت إخواننا بقمّ و بغداد و الرَّي فلم أجدها عند أحد منهم فرجعت إلى الأصول و المصنفات فاخرجها و ألزمت كل حديث منها كتاب و بابه الذي شاكله .

163. Y. Eche, Les Bibliothèques Arabes 102-117; K. V. Zetterstéen, "Sābūr" E.I. IV, 28-29; Āghā Buzurg's introduction to Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah al-Ṭūsī, Tafsīr al-Tibyān (Najaf, 'Ilmiyyah, 1376) v. I, for the references to the historians; Yāqūt al-Hamawī, Mu'jam al-Buldān (Beirut, Dār al-Ṣādir, n.d.) I 534, art. "Bayn al-Sūrayn". Eche quotes Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī, Mir'āt al-Zamān (Chicago, 1907, ed. James Richard) v. VIII, for the introduction to Sābūr's catalogue for his Dār al-'Ilm. For the importance of al-Karkh in the formation of the Ithnā 'Asharī school, see: M. Streck & J. Lassner, "al-Karkh" E.I.^{2} IV, 652-53;

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163. (cont.) G. Le Strange, Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1900) 63f.; L. Massignon, "Les Origines Shiites de la Famille Vizirale des Banū l-Furāt" & "Recherches sur les Shī'ites extrémistes à Baghdad à la fin du III^{e} siècle d l'hégire" in Opera Minora (Beirut, al-Ma'ārif, 1963) I, 484-87 & 523-26.

164. Y. Eche, op. cit., 143-61. The institution of the Dār al-'Ilm "est institué par les gouvernements shī'ites afin de leur servir à imposer leur doctrine religieuse parmi la population sunnite" (Eche, 154). The prototype of the dār al-'ilm, namely the Bayt al-Hikmah, had served al-Ma'mūn as an instrument for spreading Mu'tazilī doctrines (if not also a center of the Shu'ūbiyyah); yet the dār al-'ilm differed in being conceived as a public library founded on waqf. Sābūr's Dār al-'Ilm in Karkh must be viewed in the context of a wider tendency in the Muslim world, whereby such institutions became centers of heterodox propaganda; even in Baghdad there were other centers of Shī'ī scholarship such as the Dār al-'Ilm of al-Sharīf al-Radī from 359-406 (of which little is known, see Eche, 124-26; his brother al-Sharīf al-Murtadá, d. 436, was appointed the administrator of Sābūr's library in 416), or the Dār al-Kutub on the street of Ibn Abī 'Awf in Baghdad founded in 452 by Hilāl al-Ṣābī to replace Sābūr's library (Eche, 138-41). Shī'ism, having found a place in the dār al-'ilm more than in the mosque, was vigorously combatted by the Saljuq rulers, the Atabeks, and the Ayyubids. The wilful destruction of Sābūr's Dār al-'Ilm was followed by the establishment of the madrasah system in Baghdad (the Niẓāmiyyah was founded in 459, eight years after the burning of Sābūr's library). "L'étude du hadīth devait ainsi s'opposer dans la madrasa à la propagande shī'ite" (Eche, 158-59), the public library gave rise to the Muslim 'university'—state supported schools intended to fight heresy (Shī'ism), establish the rite of a particular Law school, and generally serve the establishment to which they were annexed. The religio-political role of the madrasah is intertwined with the crystallisation of Sunnī Islām, while the 'Shī'ī' dār al-'ilm still breathed an aura of the pursuit of hikmah of an earlier era.

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165. Dharī'ah II 134. We must caution that our presentation of the problem of the Aṣl genre is tentative and meant to point out an aréa for further research, not a conclusion. It is difficult to assign dates to the compilation of the oldest formation of Shī'ī traditions; but see al-Nu'mānī's Ghaybah and al-Ḥimyarī's Qurb al-Isnād, passim., for a number of ḥadīths related with dates given as to what year they were received by what rāwī. We are dealing here not with a source, but with a manner of manipulating traditional material— a manner which probably is already established in the oldest formation of the tradition. The question of dating has to be established therefore by itself with the text of every ḥadīth. Even the existence of a written tradition from the disciples of the Imāms al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq does not of necessity guarantee 'authenticity', as we are informed that they complained of the taḥrīf of material related from them. Yet the question of the historical bias of the texts should not make us be ruled by the presumption that an historical (politico-dogmatic) presentation always pursues the goal of justification for later needs. A 'spiritual' historical impact ought not to be understood from this point of view. This is not to deny the fundamental importance of taking into account the purpose of a writing, of its ground of existence, and accordingly to consider of what sort the people are to whom it is directed and what sort of influence it is supposed to exercize upon them. Without such precautions, we become like the man who discards a quilt for fear of bugs.

In the case of ḥadīths reported from al-Ṣādiq especially, note the following reports from him (Kulaynī, Uṣūl I 53 & 51):

. . . حديثي حديث أبي وحكيث أبي حديث جدّي وحديث جدّي حديث الحسين وحديث الحسين حديث الحسن . . . وحديث رسول الله ص قول الله عزّوجلّ .

. . . عن أبي بصير قال : قلت لأبي عبدالله ع : الحديث أسمه منك أرويه عن أبيك أو أسمه من أبيك أرويه عنك ؟ قال : سواء إلّا أنّك ترويه عن أبي أحبّ إليّ ، وقال أبو عبدالله ع لجميل : ما سمعت منّي فأروه عن أبي .

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165. (cont.) ... عن محمد بن مسلم قال: قلت لأبي عبد الله ع: أسمع الحديث منك فأزيد و أنقص؟ قال: إن كنت تريد معانيه فلا بأس.

Thus Ithnā 'Asharī tradition often refers to al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq together as 'al-Bāqirayn', or as 'al-Ṣādiqayn'; also bear in mind that al-Ṣādiq inherited many of his father's companions.

166. Jafri, Origins 305-310, for a general overview.

167. See W. Madelung, "Hishām b. al-Ḥakam" E.I.^{2} III 496-98; and now the unpublished dissertation of Michèle A. M. DeAngleis, "The Collected Fragments of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam". Hishām, who kept up his associations with Daysānite circles even after his association with al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim, was the spokesman for the positions of al-Kāẓim and his circle at the sessions of the Barmakids under Hārūn al-Rashīd, and was implicated in the imprisonment and death of the Imām Mūsá al-Kāẓim because of his open avowal of Mūsá's legitimacy before Hārūn in disputation at the 'Abbāsid court. Hishām was associated with the Āl Yaqṭīn in Baghdad, with whom he was allocated large sums of money to guarantee Ḥusaynid 'Alid interests, besides being regularly entrusted with the guidance of new adherents to the circle of the Shī'īs; (DeAngelis, 1-17). For Hishām's teaching, the work of DeAngelis is basic, as it represents a major contribution to our understanding of early Imāmī Shī'ī speculative thought; cf. also De Boer, "Djism" E.I.^{2} II, 554; and Merlin Schwarz, "'Acquisition' (Kasb) in Early Islam" p. 370-73, in Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition (Colombo, U. of S. Carolina Press, 1972, ed. S. M. Stern et al.) 355-87.

168. DeAngelis points out that "the most impressive connection of Hishām's thought is to the thought represented by a work such as the Kitāb sirr al-khalīqa and to the thought of his own circle of Imāmites" (p. 106), and suggests that the image of Hishām as a mutakallim may be a one-sided view of his thought derived from the ethical pre-

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168. (cont.) occupations of the later mutakallimīn. In this connection, she draws several suggestive parallels between Hishām's terminology and early alchemical and Hermetic writings such as the writings of Jābir b. Ḥayyān (DeAngelis, 83, 86-89, 91 n. 12, & 93 n. 13; and the fragments, passim.).

169. DeAngelis, 2-3.

170. DeAngelis, 276-77; cf. also 33 & 38-39.

171. Ibid., 30. DeAngelis observes: "We find that the main sources and authorities cited in the isnads of Hishām's teaching by the authors of the 3rd/9th century represent the earlier Imāmite hadīth- and kalām-tradition centered at Kufa, before the ascendency of Qumm in the middle of the 3rd century" (p. 34). See also Ibid., 36-38 for more details on the doctrinal adherence of the Kūfan authors to Hishām's original thought; e.g.: "This is corroborated by Sayyid al-Murtaḍá al-Dā'i al-Rāzī, who states that the books of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam and Hishām ibn Sālim, his older contemporary, did not survive, since the fuqaha (the traditionists from the late third/ninth century onward at Qumm) eschewed the subject-matter of their discourses and furthermore labelled them infidels" (p. 37-38, referring to al-Murtaḍá, Kitāb Tabsirat al-'Awāmm fī Ma'rifat Maqālāt al-Anām, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl, Tehran, 1313, p. 172).

172. In this summary of trends in the third century, we are closely following the remarks of DeAngelis, p. 44-50. We should most probably place hadīth-compilers such as the two al-Barqī's, al-Ṣaffār, and al-Ḥimyarī, and tafsīr-compilers like Furāt al-Kūfī and 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, as representative of this trend of thought.

173. DeAngelis, 45. The problem thus arises of what motivated and contributed to this about-face on the part of al-Riḍá's circle; this is not the place to discuss the political and religious conditions affecting this break in continuity, but al-Ma'mūn's overtures to 'Alī al-Riḍá

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173. (cont.) comes immediately to mind. DeAngelis adds that: "the shift in Imāmite thought in the beginning of the third century and the consequent repudiation of Hishām's teaching is corroborated by historical information. In the hadīths and biographies of Hisham ascribed to the Imāms Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and Mūsá al-Kāẓim there is a recognition of the prominence of Hishām as a mutakallim, particularly in his representing the Imām Mūsá at the Barmacide sessions and in disputation with the early Mu'tazilites. . . . However, in the historical information and hadīths from the time of the circle of 'Alī al-Riḍá on, there is a distinct reversal and condemnation of earlier teaching" (Ibid., 39).

174. DeAngelis, 45-46. J. Van Ess has pointed to the close association of zindīq and 'heretical' circles of skeptics with a certain brand of Shī'ī thought in the third century ("Skepticism in Islamic Religious Thought" 6-10), figures such as the extreme Shī'ī Ibn al-Rāwandī (d. 298), Abū Ḥafs al-Ḥaddād (from the circle of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, accused by Ibn al-Nadīm of being a Crypto-Manichaean), Jābir b. Ḥayyān the legendary alchemist— all purveyors of a "skepticism which destroyed only the value of speculative reasoning for Islam, not the value of Islam itself" (Van Ess, 7). Is it possible that this current of Imāmī Shī'ī thought shared something with certain aspects of gnostic-Shī'ī currents in Mesopotamia and Persia of the second to fourth centuries (i.e. Ghulāt, Mukhammisah, Qarmaṭī, Jābirian gnosis . . .)? Cf. L. Massignon, Passion I, 240-49, 342-70 (esp. 354-59). The figure of al-Shalmaghānī (Ibn Abī 'Azāqir) hanged in 322, is perhaps a good focus point to study this issue.

175. On the Barāmikah, see D. Sourdel, "al-Barāmika" E.I.^{2} I 1033-36; and 'Abdallāh Fayyāḍ, Ta'rīkh al-Barāmikah (Baghdad, al-Rashīd, 1367/1948). The sons of Barmak (hereditary highpriest of the famous Buddhist Temple Nawbahār near Balkh) left Khurāsān for Iraq, settling in Baṣrah and becoming clients of the Azd tribe; Khālid b. Barmak was active in aiding the 'Abbāsid revolt in his homeland of Khurāsān. The circles of Shī'ī thinkers and propagandists such as the Āl Yaqṭīn, Hishām b.

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175. (cont.) al-Ḥakam and possibly the alchemist Jābir b. Ḥayyān were closely linked with the later Barmakid Wazīrs, who favored scholars and gathered theologians and philosophers in their home, in assemblies (majālis) which have remained famous. Cf. Fahd, "Tradition Scientifique"; and DeAngelis, 14 n. 32: "The importance of the Yaqṭīn family as propagandists for the Ḥusaynid 'Alids Ja'far and Mūsá and as liasons to the early 'Abbāsids is again well known." Evidently the 'theology' of the Yaqṭīn family was set by Hishām b. al-Ḥakam.

176. On the Wāqifiyyah groupings consult: Friedländer, II 40-52 (whose remarks overlook the significance of al-Kāẓim being the seventh Imām, dubbed by al-Ṣādiq as 'Fāliq al-Baḥr'/'the Divider of the Waters', after Moses who led his people out of the bondage of Pharaoh's tyranny); Kashshī, Rijāl 455-63; Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifah al-Ṭūsī, al-Ghaybah (Najaf, Nu'mān, 1385) 29-42: quoting extensively from a lost Wāqifī or Mukhammisah work; & al-Ṭūsī, Rijāl (Najaf, Ḥaydariyyah, 1381) 342-66, where about a fourth of al-Kāẓim's companions are listed as Wāqifīs, many described as having written books, often from the authority of al-Ṣādiq. Later Ithnā 'Asharī condemnations of the Wāqifiyyah are bitter and strident, attributing to them base motives and hooliganism; Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism owes more to the Qaṭ'iyyah tendency. Perhaps the antagonism of Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism to the Wāqifiyyah results from the latter's being suckling brother to Khaṭṭābī and Qarmaṭī Shī'ism?

177. Figures such as Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d. ca. 179), Zurārah b. A'yun (d. ca. 150— one of a number of sons of an enslaved Byzantine monk (rāhib) who became learned in the Qur'ān, the sons of A'yun included prominent companions of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq learned in all branches of the traditional sciences; the important circle of Zurārah was known as al-Zurāriyyah or al-Tamīmiyyah; see Najāshī 132 & Kashshī, 161 #270), Hishām b. Sālim al-Jawāliqī, 'Alī b. Ismā'īl al-Maythamī (an associate of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, who frequented the circles of the Baṣran Mu'tazilites and disputed with al-Naẓẓām and Abū al-Hudhayl; see Najāshī 189-90), and Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Nu'mān al-Aḥwal (known as Mu'min al-Ṭāq; his circle was dubbed al-Nu'māniyyah and held heated

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177. (cont.) debates with Abū Ḥanīfah); cf. Jafri, Origins 305-310. Al-Ash'arī takes much interest in these circles of Ja'far's companions and devotes a number of pages to them (Maqālāt al-Islāmīyīn I 28, 43, 63f. & II 36f. - on the Rāfidites).

178. Sachedina, "Mahdiism" (Sachedina hopes to publish the revised form of his work shortly); see esp. chap III, the discussion of ghaybah, where he tries to show how the early traditionist approach, relying on hadīths, evolved into a highly technical scholastic theology expounding doctrines such as 'ismah, lutf, and taklīf. Sachedina reviews the genre of writings on Ghaybah, and makes use of the evidence embodied in the genre of Ziyārah literature, which has preserved some very early beliefs about the Shī'ī Imāms. See p. 120-160 for his treatment of the 'deputies' of the Hidden Imām during the Shorter ghaybah. We should note that the notion of ghaybah was discussed in Imāmī Shī'ī circles (i.e. 'Imāmite') even before the disappearance of the twelfth Imām; see al-Faḍl b. Shādhān, Idāh 381-427 (on raj'ah), and the titles of early ghaybah writings in Dharī'ah XVI, 74-84.

179. Sachedina, "Mahdiism" 159-60.

180. Sachedina alludes to the role played by the ruwāt in the later additions and re-interpretations of Shī'ī doctrine, especially with regard to the notion of ghaybah (Ibid., 159 & 161f.). His assertion: ". . . that these ruwāt were interpreted as the mujtahids and the development of their authority as the sole interpreters of the will of the Imām is doubtless of much later origin" (Ibid., 158), reflecting the religio-political situation of the later Ṣafavid and Qajar periods, needs to be clarified. See below, n. 187.

181. See the articles of L. Massignon cited above, p. 177 n. 163.

182. For the Buwayhids see: H. Busse, Chalif und Grosskonig: die Buyiden im Iraq (Beiruter Texte und Studien #6, Wiesbaden, Steiner, 1969), esp. p. 406f. for the distribution of Shī'ah in Baghdad and other parts of

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182. (cont.) the empire; Mafizullah Kabir, The Buwayhid Dynasty of Baghdad (Calcutta, Iran Society, 1964), esp. 202f.; C. Cahen, "Buwayhids or Buyids" E.I.^{2} I, 1350-57. The Buwayhids from the start of their Amirate in Baghdad organized the 'Alids into an autonomous body with their own Naqīb, separating them from the jurisdiction of the 'Abbāsid Naqīb, not only in the capital itself but in the provincial towns as well. The duties of the Naqībs were to maintain a register of the 'Abbāsids and the 'Alids, facilitate the payment of annuities to them, and to decide ordinary cases where members of the two families were involved. "Thus the Shi'ites could now look upon the Prophet's family as the religious head of their community exercising tremendous influence in the development of the Shi'ite community as a strong powerful political force in the Caliphate" (Mafizullah Kabir, "A distinguished 'Alid Family of Baghdad During the Buwayhid Period" JRASPak 9 (1964) 49-58, p. 51).

183. This process of crystallisation has recently begun to be studied critically and with insight by Etan Kohlberg in a series of important articles: "Some Notes on the Imāmite Attitude to the Qur'ān" in Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition (Colombo, U. of S. Carolina Press, 1972) 209-224; "An unusual Shī'ī isnād" Israel Oriental Studies V (1975) 142-49; "Some Imāmī-Shī'ī Views on Taqiyya" JAOS 95/3 (1975) 395-402; "The Development of the Imāmī Shī'ī Doctrine of jihād" ZDMG 126/1 (1975) 64-86; & esp. "From Imāmiyya to Ithnā-'Ashariyya" BSOAS 39/3 (1976) 521-34. Also see: Abdoldjavad Falaturi, "Die Zwölfer-Schia aus der sicht eines Schiiten: probleme ihrer untersuchung" in Festschrift Werner Caskel (Leiden, Brill, 1968, ed. E. Graf) 62-95, p. 64-71; & R. Strothmann, S.E.I. 537-39; as well as the dissertations of DeAngelis and Sachedina, and the references cited to Madelung and McDermott above, n. 157.

184. Kohlberg, "Imāmite Attitude to the Qur'ān" 215.

185. Cahen, E.I.^{2} I, 1352. The Buwayhids, although 'politically' Ithnā 'Asharī, were of Zaydī Shī'ī background, and thus allowed for the

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185. (cont.) persistence of Zaydī doctrinal influences, and linked to these, Mu'tazilī influences; such influences seem to have made a lasting impression on infant Ithnā 'Asharī theology. In the late fourth century, the famous Buwayhid Amīr al-Ṣāḥib b. 'Abbād, himself a Mu'tazilī, was responsible for promoting al-Rayy into the center of a current in both Zaydī and Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism which tended to identity itself fully with Mu'tazilite theology (Madelung, "Imāmism and Mu'tazilite Theology" 20). Ithnā 'Ashariyyah thought perhaps owes its eventual "outright adoption of method and contents of Mu'tazilite kalām" (Ibid., 28) to its patronage by the Buwayhids, although the trend towards I'tizāl was already at work in certain circles of Shī'ism by the middle of the third century.

Concerning the patronage of the Ithnā 'Asharī form of Shī'ism by the Buwayhids, we should remember that there were advantages for the Buwayhids to adhere to the Ithnā 'Asharī 'brand' of Shī'ism, according to which the Imām was in ghaybah, rather than to the Zaydī form of Shī'ism which accepted the Imāmate of only that 'Alid who openly fought for it. Thus the Buwayhid's shedding their Zaydī political adherence enabled them to tolerate the presence of an 'Abbāsid Caliph; apparently the cancelling of the requirement of bay'ah to the "Qā'im" in Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism was initiated in the Buwayhid period (Sachedina, "Mahdiism" 159-60).

186. Francesco Gabrieli remarks of the ambiguous climate of eclectic allegiances and practical tolerance in this period ("Imāmisme et Littérature sous les Būyides" in Le Shī'isme Imāmite 105-113, p. 107): ". . . cet épanouissement culturel hors de pair, qui marque justement le siècle dont nous parlons, est lié à cette liberté et tolerance relatives dont Sunna et Shī'a profitèrent ensemble sous la diarchie būyide-abbāside." His remark is aimed at the intellectual and cultural atmosphere, of course, whereas the 'popular' climate of fanatic passions expressed itself at times with ferocious violence in the inter-communal riots of Baghdad.

187. Falaturi, 78-95. The Usūlī school allowed the mujtahid to deduce the law on the basis of the Qur'ān, the Prophetic and Imāmitic Hadīth and

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187. (cont.) his own reasoning (ijtihād), whose rulings then became a valid basis of taqlīd; whereas the Akhbārī school held that the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth provide sufficient guidance without need for ruling by a mujtahid. The inevitable tension in Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism of a religion based wholly on the guidance of the Imām, and that Imām no longer accessible to the believer, rests behind this conflict, which is still alive today. The development from al-Ṣadūq, basically a traditionist-jurist (not strictly a mutakallim), through his pupil al-Mufīd— who defended the use of al-nazar/reason and rational arguments, to Sharīf al-Murtaḍā— who adopted Baṣran Mu'tazilism and taught that reason alone can establish the basic truths of religion, is very instructive of the changes and new directions acquired by the Ithnā 'Ashariyyah in Buwayhid times, as M. J. McDermott's study shows us (The Theology of Al-Shaikh Al-Mufīd).

Just when the Usūlī tendency matured, and the role of the mujtahid emerged as the sole interpreter of the Imām's will is not clear. Cf. the comments of Sachedina on the role of the ruwāt (above, n. 180), and those of DeAngelis on the fuqahā' or the trend represented by the Qumm traditionists from the late third century onwards (above, n. 171); and Falaturi, 78-95, & passim. We should note in this connection certain reports about the early Imāms which seem to imply their delegation of trusted disciples as their authorized deputies empowered to give rulings and interpretations on their behalf; see e.g., the report found in Najāshī (Rijāl 348) via Kashshī (yet this ḥadīth is not found in al-Ṭūsī's abridgement of Kashshī's Rijāl):

. . . قال: حدثني الفضل بن شاذان قال حدثني عبد العزيز بن المهتدى وكان خير قمّي رأيته وكان وكيل الرضا ع وخاصته فقال: انّي سألته فقلت: انّي لا أقدر على لقائك في كلّ وقت فعمن آخذ معالم ديني؟ فقال: "خذ عن يونس بن عبد الرحمٰن." وهذه منزلة عظيمة . . .

and the report given in Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, Ithbāt al-Hudāt bi al-Nuṣūs wa al-Mu'jizāt (Qumm, Maṭba'at al-'Ilmiyyah, 1379) V, 359-60 (taken from Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's al-Tahdhīb), about a Baṣran follower of al-Ṣādiq who is advised by

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187. (cont.) the Imām to follow the ruling of his disciple in Basrah on a question of prayer ritual:

. . . عن عليّ بن سعد البصري قال: قلت لأبي عبد الله ع: انّي نازل في بني عدي، و مؤذنهم وإمامهم وجميع أهل المسجد عثمانية يبرؤن منكم ومن شيعتكم، و أنا نازل فيهم فما تقول في الصلوة خلف الإمام؟ فقال: صلّ خلفه، قال: و أحتسب بما تصنع؟ ولو قدمت البصرة لقد سألك الفضيل بن يسار، و أخبرته بما افتيتك فيأخذ بقول الفضيل و تدع قولي، قال عليّ: فقدمت البصرة فأخبرت فضيلا بما قال، فقال لي: هو أعلم بما قال، لكنّي سمعته وسمعت أباه يقولون لا تعتد بالصلوة خلف الناصب، و اقرأ لنفسك كانك وحدك، قال: فأخذت بقول الفضيل و تركت قول أبي عبد الله ع.

However one may interpret such reports, it is interesting to mark one contemporary Ithnā ʿAsharī interpretation of the authority of the mujtahid given by Āyatallāh Khumaynī in his Walāyat al-Faqīh (Hukūmat Islāmī) (Tehran, n.p., 1979?) 55f., who understands the faqīh to possess full authority to interpret the sharīʿah (including Prophetic and Imāmitic Hadīth) in place of the hidden Imām, explaining his Usūlī position by distinguishing between two kinds of Walāyah: iʿtibārī or 'relative' walāyah held by the faqīh, and takwīnī or 'ontological' walāyah of prophets and Imāms. (We are grateful to Dr. Landolt for this reference.)

188. Kohlberg, "Imāmite Attitude to the Qur'ān", who points out that:

> the internal discussion and dissension within the Imāmite community on the attitude to the ʿUthmānic Codex is a product of the intricate political and religious history of Shīʿism. (p. 219)

and notes concerning the early traditions from the Imāms al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq which implied that deliberate omissions and additions had occured: "It is significant that we have no recorded repudiation of these traditions prior to Ibn Babawayhi . . ." (Ibid., 223 n. 99).

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189. Cahen (E.I.^{2} I, 1352) relates of the Ithnā 'Asharī leaders in Buwayhid Baghdad:

> It is said that at this moment when the four schools remaining to the Sunnis were beginning to be defined by them as exclusively orthodox, they would have wished that their form of Shī'ism might be recognised in the heart of the umma as a sort of fifth authorised school.

190. Thus in Rabī'ah II, 402 (November, 1011) the anti-Fātimid manifesto of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Qādir bi-Allāh was signed jointly by the Sunnī and Ithnā 'Asharī sages (Ibid., 1355). The condemnation of extremist tendencies in Imāmī Shī'ism goes back to the Imāms, aware of the misguided uses their teachings could be put to by persons seeking to attract followers to themselves or mount a bid for power. Nevertheless, it remains to be determined how much of their teachings may have been jettisoned by the consolidators of Ithnā 'Asharī dogma in later times; we have seen that such a process already begins in the late second century (see above, p. 53f.). One popular technique of accomplishing this was to blacken the reputation of a companion of an Imām, or a rāwī of a companion's hadīths, who in earlier references was accepted without reservations, thus enabling one to reject whatever he reported. But even in such cases, divergent opinions were, and are, retroactively expressed.

F. Gabrieli observes that one Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ī author of a representative moderate position, al-Khwārizmī, who authored a Rasā'il whose aim was to console the Shī'ī community of Nīsābūr after their persecution by an uncompromising Sunnī governor:

> il demande à Dieu de garder ses fidèles de tout excès héretique et de tout fanatisme, en nommant expressément parmi ces aberrations le ghuluww fī-l-tashayyu' Karkhī, l'extrémisme des Shī'ites du Karkh à Baghdad. Une série de nuances idéologiques et pratiques séparait donc et même opposait les uns aux autres les partisans des Alides, en permettant aux modéres de rester à leur aise même dans un milieu sunnite, et en leur faisant rejeter les attitudes outrées des ghulāt. ("Imāmisme et Littérature" 109).

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191. H. Corbin, "Sur la Notion de 'Walāyat'" 41.

192. See e.g., the report in Ṭabarī, Tā'rikh II, 1700, about a group of Zayd's followers (and former partisans of al-Mughīrah b. Sa'īd), who had questioned Zayd on his view towards the first two Caliphs, then had recourse to al-Ṣādiq:

... و كانت طائفة منهم قبل خروج زيد مرّوا إلى جعفر بن محمد بن عليّ فقالوا له ان زيد بن عليّ فينا يبايع أفترى لنا أن نبايعه؟ فقال لهم: نعم بايعوه فهو والله أفضلنا و سيّدنا و خيرنا، فجاءُوا فكتموا ما أمرهم به.

Yet coming as it does from a Sunnī source, this report, and others like it, must be treated with caution, as it may only indicate the lukewarm response towards Zayd on the part of some radical Imāmī Shī'īs; cf. Abū al-Khaṭṭāb's opinion of Zayd (Madelung, Qāsim 76), and above n. 47.

On the other hand compare al-Ṣādiq's remarks about Zayd as reported in Kashshī 360 #666:

رحم الله عمّي زيدا ما قدر أن يسير بكتاب الله ساعة من نهار...

or the report about one of al-Ṣādiq's companions, Sulaymān b. Khālid, who is a typical representative of those followers of al-Bāqir and after him al-Ṣādiq who participated in Zayd's revolt while continuing to consider al-Ṣādiq as the Imām to whom obediance was obligatory for their religious guidance (Kashshī, 361 #668):

... فقال له رجل (و نحن وقوف في ناحية و زيد واقف في ناحية): ما تقول في زيد هو خير أم جعفر؟ قال سليمان قلت: والله ليوم من جعفر خير من زيد ايّام الدنيا، ... و مضيت نحوه فانتهيت إلى زيد و هو يقول: جعفر إمامنا في الحلال و الحرام.

193. See above, n. 59.

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194. G. Lecomte ("Aspects de la Littérature du Ḥadīṯ chez les Imāmites" 98), raises this question of the respective role of each Imām in the elaboration of doctrine:

> on peut se demander s'il n'est pas possible de déterminer une certaine spécificité dans les préoccupations des grand imāms à travers les textes: je ne suis pas loin de penser que l'un ou l'autre s'est trouvé amené a résoudre, pour des raisons d'opportunité ou de compétence particulière, tel problème précis de doctrine, ou de dogme.

It may be possible to approach this problem by taking one basic theme common to several Imāms and examining how each treats it or brings to its application in terminology, Qur'ānic evidence, or confessional polemics. The issue of nass, for example, could be examined according to statements of Zayn al-'Ābidīn, al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, and would reveal a growing emphasis on the rights of the descendants of al-Husayn among the Fāṭimites. Or the theme of the "Two kinds of Men" could be examined on the basis of the myths propounded by al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq; here one may detect the preponderance in al-Bāqir on the notion of the Two Waters, sweet and salt, while in al-Ṣādiq the stress is placed more on the two principles of 'Aql and Jahl (yet both equally employ the dichotomy of two types of 'clay'). Then there is the question of the disavowal by one Imām of ḥadīths related from a previous Imām.

195. We give here the opinion of the first of the three groups who upheld al-Jawād's Imāmate while denying that al-Riḍá had taught him his knowledge (i.e. the early tradition school of Kūfah), both because of the light it sheds upon their stress on the primacy of authentic transmission of ḥadīths from the earlier Imāms, and because of the early date of Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh's Maqālāt work, written not later than the 80's of the third century (cf. Oriens 7/1 (1954) p. 204); Sa'd b. 'Abdallāh al-Qummī, Maqālāt 97, & Nawbakhtī, Firaq 75f.:

. . . ولكنّ الله علّمه ذلك عند البلوغ بضروب مما تدلّ جهات علم الإمام مثل الإلهام والنكت في القلب و النقر في الأذن

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195. (cont.) . و الرؤيا في النوم والملك المحدّث له و وجوه رفع المنار له و العمود و المصباح و عرض الأعمال عليه ، لان ذلك كلّه قد صحّ بالأخبار الصحيحة القوّية الأسانيد انها من علامات علوم الإمام وجهاتها ، فلا يجوز دفعها و ردّها و لا تكذيب مثلها لصحّة مخارجها .

Compare the discussion on the 'ilm of Ahl al-Bayt directed against Sunnī polemics in al-Faḍl b. Shādhān, al-Īḍāḥ, 459-70.

196. Note the statement of al-Ṣādiq reported in Kashshī, 3 #2:

أعرفوا منازل شيعتنا بقدر ما يحسنون من رواياتهم عنّا ، فانّا لا نعدّ الفقيه منهم فقيهاً حتى يكون محدّثا . فقيل له : أو يكون المؤمن محدّثا ؟ قال : يكون مفهّما و المفهّم محدّث .

And al-Bāqir's statement (Baṣā'ir 537):

أمّا والله انّ أحبّ أصحابي إليّ أورعهم و أفقههم و اكتمهم بحديثنا و انّ أسوأهم عندي حالا و أمقتهم إليّ الذي إذا سمع الحديث ينسب إلينا و يروى عنّا فلم يعقله و لم يقبله قلبه اشمأزّ منه و جحده و كفر بمن دان به و هو لا يدرى لعلّ الحديث من عندنا خرج و إلينا سند فيكون بذلك خارجاً من ولايتنا .

Thus, we must counterbalance the statements of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq condemning those who distort or twist their teaching with these reports which indicate the fallacy of those who are unable to fathom the gist of their ḥadīths.

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197. See the discussion by Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Jabbār, Tathbīt Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah I, 125-30, who in the course of refuting Christian ghuluww, proceeds to attack the Rāfidah by ridituling the idea of hidden transmission of knowledge, and mentioning the Qarāmiṭah and the Ismāʿīliyyah en route; cf. esp. Ibid., p. 129, where mention is made to the hidden transmission of the books of the school of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam's pupils:

... فإنهم وضعوها [يعني وضعوا الكتب] في أيام بني العبّاس وفي وسط الاسلام وسلطانه والمسلمون أكثر ما كانوا إذ ذلك وأشد ما كانوا ولهم القهر والغلبة والعز، والذين وضعوا هذه الكتب أذلّ ما كانوا، وانما كان الواحد بعد الواحد من هؤلاء يضع كتابه خفياً وهو خائف يترقب، ويخفي ذلك عن أهله وولده، ولا يطلع عليه إلّا الواحد بعد الواحد ممن هو في مثل حاله في الخوف والذل والقهر، ثم ينتشر ذلك في ادنى مدة ويظهر حتى يباع في أسواق المسلمين، ويعرفه خاصتهم وعامتهم، ويتحدثون به ويتقولونه ويذكرونه وقد غمّهم ذلك وساءهم ...

See also DeAngelis, 119 fr. 7 & p. 289, 298; and Kashshī 266 #480.

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